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ABSTRACT

A study examined the vocational guidance services available to youth in Denmark. The study focused on the following: use of existing vocational guidance services (including services available through basic general education, the Youth Guidance Scheme, secondary education, vocational training, and higher education and through Denmark's Public Employment Service and Unemployment Insurance Funds) by Denmark's youth; potential problem areas in existing vocational guidance services; and strategies for remedying those problems. It was discovered that young Danes have good access to and make substantial use of the various guidance schemes existing in and around Denmark's education and labor market services systems. The special vocational guidance needs of chronically unemployed youths and youths who either drop out of school or change course in Denmark's education system were examined in depth, and recommendations for improving the following aspects of vocational guidance services available to Denmark's youth were formulated: organization, methods, content, staff training, resources, and internationalization. (Contains 63 references.) (MN)

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ED 396 070

Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Community

Young people in Denmark and their need for guidance

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National report

CEDEFOP

panorama

Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Community

Young people in Denmark and their need for guidance

Inger Maaløe
Haandværkerhøjskolen, Haslev

February 1994

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Preface by CEDEFOP

In developing the careers of young people and integrating them into working life, career guidance is becoming increasingly important. Persistent, structurally-caused unemployment, higher qualification requirements, complex training paths with eased transition between initial and continuing training, the increasing deregulation of the labour market and the emergence of new values and life styles among young people present career guidance services, as the instrument for regulating supply and demand on training, education and labour markets, with fundamental and complex tasks. At the same time, European integration poses new challenges to the career guidance services in the Member States. The PETRA 3 programme has taken an initial step in this direction through setting up European-oriented national resource centres, through organizing transitional continuing training courses for occupational guidance counsellors and publishing the "European Manual for Occupational Guidance Counsellors".

The comparative studies[1] carried out by CEDEFOP and Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth to support and monitor work in this field have increased transparency in national occupational guidance systems and qualification structures.

The activities and research work carried out aimed primarily to make proposals or provide support for improving occupational guidance activities, to focus such work in a European context on the basis of existing national structures. Counselling requirements were deduced from existing or forecasted demand (enquiries at guidance services) or from general data derived from labour market and occupational research.

To date the needs of various target groups of young people based on their economic and social and cultural situation, their values, their career plans, their conception of the efficiency of occupational guidance offers etc. have not been taken into account.

This issue was examined in the project "Determination of (occupational) guidance needs for various groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Union", carried out between March 1993 and May 1994, the results of which are now available (12 national reports, in the original language and English, partly in French, the synthesis report in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish).

A total of 21 target groups were examined; nine of the reports examined two of the groups and three reports examined one target group. Particular attention was devoted to young people at a particular disadvantage who had no or inadequate access to occupational guidance services. The target groups selected are listed in the appendices of the 12 national reports and the synthesis report as the aims and findings of the project - as stressed in the synthesis report - can only be viewed in the context of the interrelationships between the various elements. The national reports have been published in separate editions as certain readers are interested

---

[1] Occupational profiles and training in occupational guidance counselling, CEDEFOP, 1992, 12 national studies and synthesis report.
Educational and vocational guidance services for youth and young adults in the EC, European Commission, 1993, 12 national reports and synthesis report. As a supplement:
EUROCOUNSEL, Counselling and long-term unemployment, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Dublin, 1992-1993, 6 national studies and synthesis report.

in specific target groups whose problems in finding training and work have supra-national features which are characteristic of other target groups which we selected.

This project was commissioned by Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth as part of the PETRA 3 programme aiming to produce indicators for differentiated and demand-oriented occupational guidance practices and to create more offensive planning strategies to reach as far as possible those target groups which were excluded from guidance counselling for the reasons contained in the reports. New proposals are being formulated at present to prepare the gradual transition to the "LEONARDO DA VINCI Programme".

Enrique Retuerto de la Torre
Deputy Director

Gesa Chomé
Project Coordinator

1. INTRODUCTION

This report is the Danish contribution to the CEDEFOP study: Young Europeans and Vocational Counselling: What do which young people need and want? The CEDEFOP initiative to this study is to be seen as a consequence of the growing political recognition of the importance of guidance as an instrument to the development of the human resources and their free mobility in Europe.

Prior to this study, several studies of guidance in the European Community (EEC) have been carried out. For instance, the Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth has made an analysis of the educational and vocational guidance services in the member states, which has recently been updated (Watts, 1993,[1])(Plant, 1993,[2]), and CEDEFOP carried out a major analysis in 1993 of the different profiles of guidance staff, their training and tasks etc. in the 12 member states (Plant, 1992[3]). As a contribution to the understanding of the importance of guidance and the needs for future development of guidance and counselling, CEDEFOP wanted to supplement the above studies on the structures and contents of guidance and the people who do the actual counselling with a study on the needs and wishes of the users - young people seeking guidance.

The aim of this report has been to focus on young people.

The task has been to:

1. - describe the guidance services which are at the disposal of young people within the labour market and the education system in different ways and elucidate young people's experience of these guidance services and their wishes for future guidance.

2. - focus on two selected groups of young people, their situation and needs for guidance with special regard to the mobility potential of these groups and/or their risk of being marginalised in an increasingly integrated European Community.

3. - illustrate shortcomings and lack of coherence in the present provision of guidance compared with young people's needs and put

forward recommendations for improving the guidance services.

As this study has had a very tight schedule (1. April - 1. October 1993), it is not an actual research project. The present Danish report is based solely on reports, analyses and statistics already available. In the selection of sources, emphasis has been given to the practical starting point of this study. As it has been the aim to describe the young people, their situation and their needs as closely as possible to the reality of the young people themselves, qualitative analyses have been included in particular, but relevant statistics also form part of the material. Although they are important for an understanding of young people, theoretical analyses of youth, youth psychology, youth cultures and young people's behaviour have been omitted. It has been the intention to describe young people, their opportunities and their needs as factually as possible in an attempt to give a snapshot of Danish society in general. The CEDEFOP introduction to this study covered young people in the age group 15-28. However, most of the Danish material focuses on 15-24-year-olds and - as far as education and training is concerned - particularly on 16-19-year-olds.

The analytical framework of understanding behind this study has been a four-cell model devised by Lynne Chisholm and Gesa Chomè, where cultural-spatial (geographical) mobility/immobility crossed with social-economic inclusion/exlusion has formed the framework for the typology of four groups of young people:

- the involuntarily mobile
- the voluntarily mobile
- the involuntarily immobile
- the voluntarily immobile

The definition of mobility covers physical/geographic mobility, social and qualification mobility and the development of an intercultural awareness of changes in living conditions (CEDEFOP, 1993,[11]). However activating the framework of understanding has been, it has at the same time been difficult to make the Danish material fit into it. One of the reasons for this may be the fragmentary character of the Danish material, as there is no single collected, coherent forum in Denmark for youth research with repetitive analyses of young people's conditions and attitudes. In several sector

research areas both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the behaviour and attitudes of young people have been made. However, as material for this study they suffer from differences in terminology, research methods and approach. It is therefore difficult to obtain a coherent overview of the development of young people's living conditions, needs and wishes.

The present report about young people in Denmark and their needs for guidance and counselling contains the following chapters:

- Chapter 2 describes the provision of guidance for young Danes, partly in the different phases of education and training and partly in labour-market schemes and job-creation programmes in the municipalities. Emphasis is put on the description of guidance personnel and opportunities as young people will typically experience them.
- Chapter 3 is a more specific description of two selected groups of young people, namely marginalised young people on social transfer income who do not have a qualifying vocational education and young people in youth education and training, who start but do not complete the education course. The hypotheses behind the selection of these specific groups of young people is firstly that life sequences with problems - particularly in the transition phases from one part of the education system to another or from education and training to the labour market (dropping-out, change of study etc) - will indicate gaps in the provision of guidance or unfulfilled needs, and secondly that the large group of ordinary voluntarily immobile young people must contain unrecognized potential and wishes for mobility. In this chapter the framework of understanding of the study is discussed and it is pointed out that other groups of vulnerable young people could just as easily have been chosen.
- Chapter 4 is an attempt to summarise young Danes' needs for vocational guidance as they emerge through the chosen information material, partly through young people's own statements and partly through analysis by researchers of young people's behaviour and attitudes.

This Danish contribution to the study is not only limited by the lack of a coherent strategy for youth research in Denmark, but also by the fact that visions and wishes for the improvement of guidance and counselling should be possible within the structures and traditions of the existing guidance services. The analysis of young people's needs and the recommendations are

therefore linked to the ways in which the system is functioning today and to changes which have a realistic prospect of being implemented. This study does not comment on to what improvements should be initiated at national level or at EC level. However, there is a need for a definition and description of such a division of work, perhaps in a follow-up study on how to improve youth research structures in the member states.

The views expressed in the report may not be identical with official Danish views. A group of very committed persons from the areas of guidance and youth research have as such - and not as official national representatives - read and commented on the draft version of the report, and I am very grateful to

Gunnar Dahlgaard,	Youth Information Copenhagen
Peter Føge Jensen,	Ministry of Education and Research, Department of Upper Secondary Schools and HF
Søren Kristensen,	ACIU
Peter Plant,	Royal Danish School of Educational Studies
Steffen Svendsen,	Royal Danish School of Vocational Educational Studies
Susanne Ulk,	Ministry of Education and Research, Primary and Lower Secondary School Department/Youth Guidance Scheme

for their valuable comments.

Inger Maaløe
Haslev, October 1993

2. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE SERVICES IN DENMARK: ACCESS AND USE

Educational and vocational guidance in Denmark is organisationally placed under both the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Education and Research and is exercised by vocational counsellors in association with the Public Employment Service offices, by counsellors in association with the individual educational institutions and in the municipal youth guidance service. In addition to guidance in the areas of responsibility of these two ministries, guidance is provided in association with the municipal, social administrative bodies, in the criminal welfare service, in the armed forces, in agriculture and in a number of other alternative - not publicly regulated - forms. The labour-market parties are also taking part to an increasing extent in the information and guidance activities, especially through trade unions and unemployment insurance funds (A-kasser). In terms of size, guidance within the scope of the Ministry of Education and Research is by far the most extensive.

Guidance in Denmark has a long historical tradition, beginning in the public sector in the Ministry of Labour in 1917 with the establishment of vocational guidance and tests for apprentices. In 1953 vocational guidance was introduced into the folkeskole (primary and lower secondary school) and the gymnasium (upper secondary school). At the end of the 1960s guidance was established within other education sectors: in the vocational training courses, higher education and adult education at upper-secondary school level. Guidance and information activities for young 16-25 year-old unemployed people was strengthened when the Folketing (Danish Parliament) in 1977-78 adopted the first collective legislation in the area of youth employment. In 1981 the R.U.E. (Rådet for Uddannelses- og Erhvervsvejledning - Council for Educational and Vocational Guidance) was established with the purpose of developing and coordinating the guidance effort at national level, preparing nationwide information material on education and occupations and implementing the continuing training of counsellors in a trans-sectoral arrangement. In 1985, the coordinating activities were expanded so that they also covered the regional level (the fourteen counties). Since that time, guidance within the adult education courses and the provision of activities for young unemployed people has been an area of effort in Denmark as in many other EC countries (Plant,

1993[5]).

Thousands of counsellors are today working in the Danish education and labour-market systems in association with primary/lower secondary schools, technical schools and commercial schools, universities, youth guidance services, Public Employment Service offices, job-creation projects etc. Most of the counsellors associated with the area of education work part-time. The activities of the counsellors, new guidance initiatives and continuing training activities for counsellors in the areas of both youth and adult guidance are coordinated at regional level by the fourteen occupational guidance committees and by the local guidance committees in the municipalities.

The table below gives an overview of the various guidance bodies, types of and numbers of counsellors, target group and where they belong administratively (Plant, 1992, p. 5[3]).

Educational and vocational guidance services in Denmark

	Administrative control	Client target group	Main occupations	No. in occupation
School Counselling	Municipalities: Ministry of Ed. guidelines	Aged 14-17 pupils in the folkeskole	Form teachers (form 7-10)	approx. 9,000
			Teacher-counsellors	1,526
			Careers advisers	224
			Curators	135
Youth Guidance	Municipalities; Ministry of Ed. guidelines	Aged 16-18; not covered by other guidance services	Youth guidance officers (considerable overlap with teacher-counsellors)	1,006
Youth Employment	Municipalities; Ministry of Ed. guidelines	Aged 18-20; local extensions of age-group	Youth employment staff; project leaders	approx. 2,000
Educational Guidance	Counties; Ministry of Ed. guidelines	Aged 16-21; students at HF/gymnasia	Careers advisers	639
	do.	Aged 18+; students in single subject adult ed.	Careers advisers AVU	approx. 220
			HF/single subject	282
	State; Ministry of Ed. guidelines	Aged 16+; vocational education	Careers advisers comm. schools	309
			technical schools	347
	do.	Aged 18+; higher educ./uni	Careers advisers central	67
			decentralised	277
Employment Service	State: laws & Ministry of Labour guidelines	All ages; mainly unemployed	Placement off.	approx. 750
			Vocational guidance officers	approx. 200
Unemployment Insurance	Trade Unions	Aged 16+; unemployed	Insurance fund staff	approx. 800

Note: Figures cover 1985-91; for the greater part compiled by RUE, apart from figures on the employment service which are from AMS (Directorate of Labour). Figures on unemployment insurance funds have been confirmed with the assistance of the Unemployment Insurance Funds.

The overriding aim of the guidance in Denmark, formulated in the 1981 Act on Educational and Vocational Guidance, reads as follows:

> *"Educational and Vocational Guidance serves the purpose of preparing the individual for his or her choice of education or vocation (...) Guidance shall be given with due regard to the personal qualifications of the individual and the future employment prospects with the purpose of ensuring that the person concerned obtains a satisfactory educational foundation and position in working life".* (Plant, 1993, p. 13[2])

The emphasis put here on the individual's personal choices is the basis for the attitude of by far the majority of Danish counsellors towards their practical work, but since the beginning of the century guidance concepts have obviously changed significantly:

> *".. it seems that careers guidance has moved from an interest focused on the individual (testing the bodily expression of the soul around the century), through an interest in the relationship between the individual and society (free choice and client centered guidance in the 1960s and 1970s), to a basically economic interest in 'human resources' where, for instance, unemployment is seen as waste of human capital and the economic value of guidance is assessed in those terms."* (Plant, 1993, p. 13[2])

One of the aims of most of the public studies that have been conducted in recent years has also been to study the effectiveness and quality of guidance (PLS-Consult, 1987[6] and Ministry of Education and Research, 1992[7]), particularly with regard to minimising youth unemployment and the high drop-out rate in the education sector.

A large number of changes in the education system, in the labour market and in the development of society in general have put the focus on the role of guidance and have made the guidance process itself more complex. In Denmark some of the major changes are that girls have entered the labour market on an equal footing with boys and that the development of society has made it necessary for more and more to obtain education beyond the level of basic

schooling. The education system has undergone major changes at all levels and options, flexible opportunities for moving up and down and the complexity of types of education have increased massively over the past fifteen years. In addition, the opportunities for entry to and completion of education and training courses have been significantly cut back, both through real restrictions and by means of more precise requirements on study activities and execution in connection with the education support schemes. New groups of young people from environments alien to education have entered the education system with an increased need for information and "execution" guidance. The integration of refugees and immigrants has also contributed towards personal, individual guidance having been given greater emphasis. Youth unemployment, the many drop-outs and changes of course in the education system have increased the pressure on guidance in the Public Employment Service and the municipalities, and in so doing have intensified the political interest in the function of guidance. All in all, the guidance process has become more complex, the need for guidance has risen and the favour in which the level of the guidance service is held has increased.

For a more detailed account of the historical development of guidance, the structure, content, context and resources of guidance services provided and the training and tasks of counsellors in Denmark see Plant, 1993[2] and Plant[3] and Ministry of Education and Research, 1992[7]. A comparison with other guidance systems in the EC can be found in Watts, 1993[1].

2.1. GUIDANCE IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

2.1.1. Guidance in basic general education and the Youth Guidance Scheme

In the oldest classes of folkeskole (primary and lower secondary school), the young person in principle receives three forms of guidance:

a) Education and vocational orientation in the form of class instruction, which is compulsory in the seventh, eighth and ninth forms and is normally continued in the tenth form. The instruction is often given in contemporary studies or Danish classes or in the "form period". The subjects covered in the teaching that is given will include:
   - options in the eighth to tenth forms

- different education, training and employment opportunities after the ninth and tenth forms
- organisation of vocational and working life, functions of work, economics, environment, cooperation, employment conditions, labour-market parties etc.
- topics such as development of technology, the roles of the sexes and education etc.
- visits to or by educational institutions and firms

b) Individual guidance, which must make individual pupils capable of gaining an overview of their wishes and abilities for educational and employment opportunities. The parents will often be involved in this guidance.

c) Collective guidance with an examination of materials and information on options in the school system and alternative ways of complying with the duty of education. Emphasis is put, particularly in the highest forms, on education and employment opportunities after basic schooling with the emphasis on youth education.

A specially arranged educational and vocational practical course is often held in the ninth and tenth forms. This practical course is not a statutory requirement, but virtually all municipalities/counties offer practical courses lasting at least one week for all pupils. The practical course is often provided for a week at one or more education and training institutions and one week of vocational work experience in a firm in the ninth form. Practical courses - sometimes of long duration - will often also be included in the activities of the tenth form. Pupils, parents and counsellors normally all rate this form of educational and vocational guidance very highly.

The people who guide the young person at the folkeskole are as follows: (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 26[7]).

The form teacher is a key figure throughout the folkeskole. The form teacher is responsible for the individual counselling and guidance of pupils, orientation for the parents and teaching on subjects which lie outside the individual subjects, e.g. road safety, sex education and thus also educational and vocational orientation. These areas are assumed to be integrated into the general teaching. It goes without saying that there may

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be wide local differences in the extent and quality of this orientation.

Many young people do not regard the guidance given by the form teacher as actual guidance. The role as teacher and as counsellor will often - for good or ill - merge together for the pupils, for the parents and often also for the form teachers themselves. The advantage of the scheme is that the form teacher has a very thorough knowledge of the pupil and his environment, and that a relationship of trust has been established over many years between the pupil, form teacher and parents. The individual counselling may therefore be very personally relevant to the pupil. The corresponding drawback is that the form teacher's resources for keeping up to date in the area are small and that many form teachers do not feel up to the task (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 31[7]).

The teacher counsellor at the individual school, who is the form teacher's and the other teachers' adviser e.g. on

- organisation of educational and vocational orientation teaching
- planning of practical work experience placements for the pupils
- holding of events for parents

The teacher counsellor will often give collective guidance and can take part in the individual discussions with pupils. At many schools the teacher counsellor will at the same time be a teacher in the top forms, and he is therefore a person whom the young people know. The teacher counsellor is typically a man (80% men against 20% women). To support his guidance work, the teacher counsellor can refer to the municipal careers adviser, who will, however, generally be a person with whom the young people do not have any direct contact.

The **curator**, who is the pupils' guide on general learning and behavioural problems. The curators act as personal advisers for the individual pupils, generally in cooperation with the municipal psychological/educational counselling service and youth guidance service.

In addition, there is counselling and guidance in the school system on health matters via the school doctor and the nurse who is attached to each individual school and psychological assistance for children and young people and their families through the municipal psychological/educational

counselling service, which will often be located at the largest school in the municipality.

The youth guidance officer acts outside the bounds of the folkeskole, but in cooperation with the municipal school administration. The task of the youth guidance officer is to guide and inform 16-19 year-olds who are not either in work or connected to a youth education institution. The youth guidance officer is often recruited from the group of teacher counsellors, and in smaller municipalities he will sometimes fulfil both roles simultaneously. The youth guidance officer receives information from the local folkeskoler (primary and lower secondary schools) and youth education institutions on the young people who are not in a satisfactory educational or work situation. The youth guidance officer has a duty to visit and guide the young people in the "residual group", and among other things maintains close contact with the administrative staff in the municipal social administration. The youth guidance officer has a duty to offer the young person guidance on employment and education up to the age of 19 (or two years after the end of basic schooling), but in many municipalities follow-up has been extended to the age of 21. (Plant, 1993, p. 40[2]).

The youth guidance officer in many municipalities heads a youth team consisting of administrative officers, Public Employment Service guidance officers, heads of employment projects and perhaps representatives from the local organisations of the labour market, in which the coordination and effort for unemployed young people in particular can be fostered. The youth guidance officer also monitors the day high schools, employment projects, job-application courses, production schools etc., into which many young people in the social welfare system are brought (Mariegaard, 1988, p. 77[8]). A new youth law from 1990 and 1992 offers young people between the ages of 18 and 24 who receive help from the social welfare system the chance to take part in education, training or employment for up to five months, if they do not wish to lose their national assistance (see section 2.2.3.).

The youth guidance officer will generally be involved in placing young people in various forms of alternative education and employment. In some municipalities, the youth guidance officer has instituted preventive work in that all unemployed 16-21 year-olds have to take part in a two-week

introduction and guidance course immediately after an education course has finished or unemployment occurs. Such courses will often put great emphasis on personal development and self-understanding (Plant, 1993, p. 25[5]).

2.1.2. Guidance in youth education

As in the folkeskole, both collective and individual guidance is given in youth education. Guidance and information on educational and employment opportunities until recently have not, however, been integrated into the curriculum for youth education.

The guidance tasks in youth education have many features in common with guidance in the folkeskole with regard to the content and methods of the guidance. However, the guidance offices in youth education have sole responsibility for guidance, since there is no form teacher principle in many youth education courses. The tasks of guidance officers in youth education differ from those in the folkeskole in being aimed at both the potential pupils and the pupils who receive instruction at the institution.

2.1.2.1. THE UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL, HF AND SINGLE-SUBJECT EDUCATION

New statutory orders in 1991 and 1993 have tightened up the guidance obligations in general upper secondary school (gymnasium) education. Those attending HF (Higher Preparatory Examination) courses have had to be offered an interview on entering and leaving for many years, and this is now also recommended for the gymnasium. In addition, the collective guidance covers orientation on study habits, optional subjects, educational opportunities, national assistance, labour-market organisation, employment conditions, job-seeking, awareness of the gender-divided labour market and guidance on drawing up a personal plan of action.

Collective guidance is not integrated into teaching, but has to be fitted into teaching time. The young people have an opportunity to meet the study counsellor in and after normal school hours for individual discussions and often come with requests to examine the topics from collective guidance in more depth. The pupils on youth education courses are used from the folkeskole to having a form teacher they are familiar with, and the

counsellor will often be expected to take over this function, which they, however, find it difficult to comply with in terms of time. (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 37[7]), (Plant, 1993, p. 33[2]).

There is a great difference in the use of study guidance in the gymnasium/HF and the single-subject courses, where the mass of pupils are usually older with different kinds of problems. Whilst pupils in the gymnasium and HF put the emphasis on forward-looking discussions on education and choice of occupation, those on single-subject courses concentrate on here-and-now problems, e.g. admission to and completion of courses. A study on study guidance in the gymnasium from 1992 (GL, 1992, p. 17-19[9]) shows that not all pupils use the study guidance. 31% declared that they had not spoken to the counsellor and 47% had not taken part in special events concerning guidance in the 1991-92 school year. However, all pupils may be assumed to have taken part in collective guidance. The major guidance study from 1987 (PLS-Consult, 1987[6]) demonstrates that study-orientation meetings with guidance in the classroom or guest teachers and in particular visits to firms are activities from which a large proportion of pupils gain something. The personal talks with counsellors evidently yield most for pupils alien to education (PLS, 1987, table report: Vocational guidance in upper secondary school and HF courses, p. 55[6]).

2.1.2.2. VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Like the upper secondary school counsellors, the counsellors at the vocational schools are teachers who spend between a half and two-thirds of their time on teaching. The educational and vocational guidance officers in the vocational schools will often be linked to a particular vocational area or a particular level of teaching. In addition, at most vocational schools there are full-time learning and work experience placement advisers who are often recruited from among the study counsellors. In 1990 the task of acting as intermediary for course and work experience places was moved away from the Public Employment Service offices and given to the vocational schools in the hope that the search for work experience placements would be intensified, to the benefit of the young people (Ministry of Education and Research, 1990,[10]).

New target-oriented statutory orders have also been considerably tightened up on the vocational schools, and more emphasis is now put on individual guidance and the qualification of the individual young person's choice of education and employment.

At the commercial schools, the educational and vocational counsellor - as in the gymnasium - will often at the same time be the young people's teacher. The tasks of the educational and vocational counsellor in collective guidance, as in the gymnasium, are orientation on optional subjects, division into levels, continued educational opportunities, the labour market etc. In addition, the counsellor often takes part in guidance on searching for work experience placements and job application techniques. The individual guidance is concerned to a high degree with the placement of pupils at the level of language and on searching for work experience places, which for many pupils is of decisive significance to their continued educational opportunities.

Several guidance experiments have been conducted in recent years at the vocational schools, involving for instance group guidance, integration of guidance into teaching and dealing with pupils' ideas of the future. Greater awareness among the pupils appears to have increased the need for individual guidance (Ministry of Education and Research, 1990, p. 37[11]).

The educational and vocational counsellors of the technical schools, like those in the commercial schools, are responsible for carrying out collective and individual guidance, but the specialist teachers will often also assist the pupils in searching for work experience placements in the trade they have chosen. Young people at technical school also meet the counsellor in connection with optional subjects, job-seeking, searching for work experience placements, further education and training opportunities and so on. The guidance is clearly most intensive in the first year, and since 1991, when a new reform, among other things of the first year of vocational education came into force, guidance has also been integrated into teaching. (Ministry of Education and Research, 1990[12]). The first half year, particularly at technical schools, is now organised as an introductory course to the specialised training, where the young people can often choose to concern themselves with one or more main vocational areas

and be given a broad introduction to the others.

Guidance in and the trying-out of educational and vocational opportunities for the individual young person have been greatly strengthened, so that the individual young person can make a qualified choice of desired occupation. However, the shortage of work experience placements, which at 1 July 1993 stood at around 16,800 pupils at vocational schools who had not obtained the desired placement, often prevents the pupils from actually making further progress in the desired course of education (Ministry of Education and Research, July 1993[13]). It may be mentioned for comparison that in February 1990 there were approx. 8,000 pupils looking for course and work experience places (Sørensen, 1990[14]). There is therefore great pressure on the counsellors in the vocational schools, from the pupils, the school and from the parents, to improve the work experience placement situation. At the same time, the counsellors at the vocational schools are used a great deal for outside activities in connection with information to new pupils (in periods 50% of the guidance time), and there are also increasing complaints about too little time for individual guidance from both the young people and the counsellors.

A random-sample study of the guidance at twelve vocational schools in 1992 shows that the counsellors spend approximately 30-50% of their time on individual discussions. According to the counsellors, two groups of young people in particular use the guidance: firstly the group of weak or threatened young people (occupationally weak young people, young people who are absent a great deal), who are often referred to the counsellor by the teachers or management - a group which according to the counsellors should be given high priority particularly with regard to help on personal and social problems, and secondly the group of ambitious, capable pupils who, often against the background of collective guidance, themselves seek more in-depth information on the labour market and education and training. According to the counsellors, most time is spent on the group of weak pupils, but it is generally the counsellors' experience that the volume of work has risen substantially. More pupils now demand guidance, and the many changes that have taken place in education mean less time on individual guidance (Wieclaw, 1992[15]). As the technical schools in particular have a larger proportion of pupils from groups alien to education and pupils with

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special educational needs, this development is a great cause for concern.

2.1.3. Guidance in higher education

Guidance at the institutions of higher education is divided into two levels: a central level with a base in five of the universities and a decentralised level in the individual subjects and the other institutions of higher education, some of which do not, however, have any formalised guidance service, e.g. the teacher training colleges.

At the central level the full-time counsellors are concerned particularly with the guidance of potential applications and rejected applicants. A significant proportion of the counsellors' time is spent on administering the tasks in connection with admission, but they are also obliged to provide guidance on employment opportunities, changes of study, finance etc. In the individual regions, the cousellors are also obliged to offer study-orientation meetings for youth education students.

Decentralised guidance is dealt with in particular by older students and is mostly concerned with subject-specific problems. At many of the institutions of higher education, teachers and project counsellors also deal with this guidance in connection with teaching. Collective guidance is given in particular in connection with introductory events at the start of studies.

Over and beyond the central and decentralised guidance there is Student Counselling, which with offices in the four largest towns provides assistance in connection with social and psychological problems. It is planned, however, that this guidance service will be decentralised and integrated as part of the guidance environment of the individual institutions (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 53').

Guidance at the individual institutions of higher education is not laid down by the Ministry of Education and Research in the same way as other educational guidance. No requirements are laid down, for example, on guidance time and the training of counsellors. In some institutions, expanded guidance and various guidance experiments take place, whilst the

guidance service at other institutions is a formal rather than a genuine provision (PLS-Consult, 1987, p. 240[6]).

There is no doubt that the need for guidance in higher education will increase over the next few years. There is severe pressure today on guidance resources, particularly in the admission phase. From 1994, first-year tests are being introduced in the medium-length and long higher education courses, which will obviously increase the need for guidance for those who do not pass. It is also planned that bachelor students in future will have to qualify for admission to final-degree (kandidat) courses and will not as now have an automatic right to admission after completing the bachelor course. It is not yet known how these changes will affect the need for guidance.

There is no centrally produced material on the needs for and views on the guidance provided at institutions of higher education among the students, but many counsellors consider it to be certain that the high drop-out rate in higher education could be reduced if systematic work is carried out on induction activities and if better time is spent in particular on individual guidance (PLS-Consult, 1987, p. 240[6]).

2.2. GUIDANCE IN LABOUR-MARKET SERVICES

The Public Employment Service (arbejdsformidlingen) was formerly a guidance body for people in work, the unemployed and for those seeking places on courses or first jobs. The task of acting as intermediary for work experience placements was transferred a few years ago to the vocational schools, and the work of the Public Employment Service now consists mainly in measures to combat unemployment, e.g. the organisation of educational and work provisions, which within particular periods of time must be offered to all unemployed people who are members of an unemployment insurance fund. A law from 1985 (amended in 1989, 1991 and 1993) on work provisions for unemployed people is an attempt to prevent long-term unemployment and preserve unemployed people's links with the labour market through the provision of work or participation in education and training, particularly organised training courses or assistance in setting up a business. In connection with this law the requirements for the guidance

effort in relation to the unemployed were tightened up. At the same time, policy on unemployment was changed from a passive "welfare line" to a more activating effort. A law on youth services from 1990 in the national assistance system, which links financial assistance to an obligation to partake of employment and education services, must be seen in this context. This law is administered by the municipalities.

The guidance of the unemployed now takes place in particular within three administrative frameworks:

1. Under the auspices of the Public Employment Service (provision of education and job-creation services).
2. Unemployment insurance funds, which administer the payment of daily benefit.
3. The municipal administration of youth benefit and job-creation schemes for at-risk groups.

2.2.1. Guidance in the Public Employment Service

The main task of the Public Employment Service is to guide persons without employment, who are available to the labour market through an unemployment insurance fund or the national assistance system. The law on the activation of the unemployed by means of education and job-creation services is applicable solely to those unemployed who have been in continuous employment for 26 weeks, and are insured in an unemployment insurance fund linked to a trade union. In Denmark the vast majority of people in the labour market are organised in trade unions (86% of all wage-earners including the unemployed) (Friis, 1992, p. 35[16]).

The Public Employment Service careers officers and placement officers have to give guidance both in individual discussions and collective guidance events. In connection with the law on job-creation and training schemes, some fixed times have been laid down for these talks in relation to the first day of unemployment. For young people below the age of 25, work must be provided (lasting 7-9 months) after twelve months of unemployment. If the unemployed person does not have education and training giving vocational qualifications, he/she can instead start on a training scheme, either in a training scheme he or she has selected, lasting for up to two

years, or on a specially organised course, generally lasting 13-20 weeks, which is overseen by the Public Employment Service (UTB course). If the person concerned has education and training providing vocational qualifications, he or she first obtains an offer of work, and if he or she is still unemployed afterwards, a training scheme can be offered after six months. Studies show, however, that the schemes come into effect considerably later than the centrally stipulated frameworks, although there are great regional differences here (Mærkedahl, 1992[17]).

In the discussions which are held three and nine months before a job-creation scheme or training scheme and in discussions three months after the schemes have been carried out, the counsellors must advise through individual and collective guidance on training and work schemes and on employment opportunities in the slightly longer term. In an overall study of the many evaluations made in the period 1988-92 of the training and work schemes, it is stated that "the extent of the guidance in the first 2-3 years of unemployment cannot be regarded as particularly comprehensive, gauged in terms of the total time the unemployed are receive guidance. This means that the effect the guidance has is one - perhaps often less significant - element among the many circumstances that are of significance to the behaviour, knowledge and attitudes of the unemployed in relation to the scheme and the labour market." (ibid, p. 70).

However, the implementation of the training and job-creation scheme signifies an intensified guidance effort gauged by the number of discussions held and gauged by the growth in the proportion of unemployed people who state that they have received guidance in comparison with previous schemes. There is nevertheless a group of unemployed people who do not receive guidance from either the Public Employment Service system or from the unemployment insurance funds, namely 22%. A large proportion of those who actually receive guidance, 50%, state that they did not derive any benefit from the guidance. It should obviously be borne in mind here that guidance activities are not always recognised as guidance (Plant, 1993, p. 64[8]).

The labour-market measures mentioned here for the unemployed have been revised. The right to individual guidance and individually adapted

education and job-training provisions has been increased. Great emphasis is now put on the individual plan of action. Education, training and job-creation schemes have been expanded under the Act to include schemes for various forms of leave of absence for training, looking after children or sabbaticals. However, the leave-of-absence scheme does not give the right to full assistance. Leave of absence for education, training and sabbaticals may only, however, be granted to persons over the age of 25. The guidance effort is expected to be strengthened by the new legislation. The control of labour-market legislation is also being restructured. It is too early to say how the new legislation will operate, particularly in relation to the young unemployed (Ministry of Labour, 1993[18]).

The Public Employment Service guidance obviously comprises other forms of activities than those mentioned here, e.g. equality work, job-rotation schemes, searching-out work and guidance in firms etc., but these activities will not discussed in more detail here.

2.2.2. Guidance in the Unemployment Insurance Funds

The Unemployment Insurance Fund Offices (A-kasserne) traditionally handle the administration of daily benefit rules and payments and assess whether the unemployed person is available to the labour market. Since 1989 the Unemployment Insurance Funds have been obliged to provide guidance, partly through compulsory six-monthly interviews. The staff of the Unemployment Insurance Funds, who are generally not trained counsellors, have to give guidance on education, training and employment opportunities and on the various rules to be followed to be actively seeking work. There are thus two conflicting functions, a controlling function and an information and guidance function.

Studies point in the direction of not all unemployment insurance funds being able to or having resources to conduct the statutorily required discussions. There are, however, differences between the unemployment insurance funds: there are unemployment insurance funds which are highly active in their efforts to motivate and on training activities for unemployed members, whilst others view guidance as a more formal obligation (Pilegaard Jensen, 1991[19]). It is in the nature of things that there must be

good coordination between the Public Employment Service and the unemployment insurance funds, partly on the individual unemployed person and partly on information and services provided, and finally coherence in the guidance must be achieved for the unemployed person. However, studies suggest that the information relevant to guidance and counselling in one system can only be used to a limited extent in the other. The unemployment are often confused and therefore dissatisfied in particular with the lack of coherence and the often contradictory information given in guidance and counselling (Mærkedahl, 1992[17]).

2.2.3. Guidance in the municipal system

As well as guidance in the youth guidance system (discussed in 2.1.1.), young people have access to guidance in several different forms under the municipal system. The young person will generally first come into contact with his or her officer in the National Assistance Administration in connection with a desire for financial assistance. In many municipalities, the young person is then referred to counsellors in municipal employment secretariats, which administer the activation services which the municipality is obliged to establish. In other municipalities the children's and young people's officers in the National Assistance Administration are physically located in municipal "job shops" or employment projects. There are many local variants of the organisation of guidance and activation services. In July 1990 a duty was placed on the municipalities under a law on youth services to assign all 18-19 year-olds applying for cash assistance due to unemployment an offer of employment lasting at least five months with at least 20 hours of weekly employment (Youth Package, 1990[10]). At the latest two weeks after the young person has applied for assistance, an offer must be made of employment or a guidance and introductory programme lasting for up to six weeks followed by the offer of employment. A youth benefit provision only has to be offered once. The scheme was expanded in 1991 and 1992, so that it now covers all young people aged between 18 and 24 (Engelund, 1992[20]).

Employment under the youth benefit scheme is highly varied, but typically includes job-creation projects, jobs with pay subsidies in private firms, periods spent in production schools, periods at day high schools, voluntary unpaid work etc. The nature of the employment projects may differ widely,

e.g. services for pensioners, cultural projects, establishment of museums, decoration of schools, help for families with twins or sick children etc. (Municipality of Copenhagen, 1992[21]).

Young people can also be offered employment, jobs with subsidised pay in private firms or training projects under a law on municipal job-creation efforts (Ministry of Labour, 1990[22]), which is not reserved solely for young people but is aimed at both young people and at-risk groups of unemployed people.

The guidance, particularly in the teaching and job-creation projects, is often integrated into the content of the project, but a feature common to many projects is that the emphasis is on personal clarification, awareness of one's own opportunities, job-application modules, self-confidence training etc. A large number of experimental and development projects in this area have been holistically oriented, i.e. they have been aimed at the whole life situation of the individual young person, but generally with the emphasis on either getting the participants to function psychologically and socially or getting them into education, training or work (Bak, 1987[23]). These holistically oriented experimental projects are judged as having a very good effect, both by the project managers and the young people themselves. Some of the experience from the projects also flows into the projects which are now taking place under the youth benefit scheme.

Another new law in this area was passed in 1993 (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993[24]): Law on initial vocational training, which places a duty on the municipalities to organise two-year vocationally oriented preparatory training courses for young people who need particular training schemes before they start on an actual vocational training course. The training courses do not give vocational qualifications but there are good opportunities for transferring merits. These training courses are aimed in particular at young people with problems in the transition from school to labour market and must contain twenty to forty weeks of instruction and, in addition, work experience periods in firms. The training courses must be organised in cooperation with local education and training institutions, but the municipalities are responsible for implementation. The practical placements in the initial vocational training courses must not, however,

block the work experience placement opportunity for young people in vocational training courses giving qualifications.

The municipal obligation to give young people active assistance rather than passive welfare thus assumes many, widely differing forms. The administration of the legislation is decentralised, and there are major local variants, firstly in the distribution of resources and secondly in the specific formulation of the activation services provided. There are also great differences in content and extent, the motivation and commitment element and the monitoring function in this type of guidance for young people.

2.3. ALTERNATIVE GUIDANCE SERVICES

Private guidance and counselling agencies are virtually non-existent in Denmark, which is obviously related to the fact that public guidance and counselling is provided free of charge in so many forms. However, individual counselling firms supply guidance on applying for jobs for the unemployed or consultancy services for firms which require counselling for staff who have been laid off.

Many private help organisations provide free counselling, for example in the form of women's crisis centres, legal advice centres etc. A large social development programme launched by the Ministry of Social Affairs supported some 300 social development projects in the period 1988-1991. Many of these had a content of guidance, but only just under a quarter of them related to the very weakest groups in society. Many of these projects had to cease activities when the programme expired (Ministry of Social Affairs, 1992[25]).

A single type of guidance centre should, however, be discussed here: Youth Information (Ungdomsinformationen), which with its five offices in Copenhagen answers enquiries from some 38,000 young people in the course of a year. Youth Information started in 1971 as a housing agency, but now offers all young people information, advice and guidance on all matters on which the individual young person makes enquiries. At present, Youth Information has a staff of fifteen, working on

- general information
- acting as intermediary for housing and supplying housing information
- information and guidance for young unemployed people
- youth tourism

A study from 1990 on the nature of the enquiries received shows that young people seek guidance on social health matters, sexual problems, opportunities for financial assistance in the national assistance system, problems relating to children, families and living together, legal problems, mental problems, assignment of housing, local cultural and leisure services, work, education and training, trips abroad, legal and religious matters etc. In 73% of cases the question could be answered immediately, but in 66% of cases the young person was also referred to other organisations. Youth Information cooperates with the other guidance and counselling organisations in Copenhagen, but young people can apply to one of the offices without obligation and with being registered (Youth Information Copenhagen, 1992[26]).

Youth Information is also used heavily by young foreigners who come to Denmark on working or study trips.

2.4. GUIDANCE AS SEEN BY YOUNG PEOPLE

2.4.1. Experience and needs in the education system

As described earlier, the guidance system in the Danish education system is very close-meshed and offers a number of types of guidance. It will be almost impossible for pupils in basic school not to receive educational and vocational guidance, which does not, however, mean the same thing as saying that young people experience having received guidance. In youth education, the guidance bears the hallmark more of an individual service which can be used, but here too there is collective, compulsory guidance. In higher education the guidance activity is exclusively provision-oriented, and apart from induction activities for a course of study, the young people themselves have to seek the guidance. It is remarkable in the light of this situation that only 41% of young Danes in the Young Europeans study (CEC, 1991[27]) state that they have received guidance through the school system,

although this percentage is one of the highest for young Europeans as a whole.

A major guidance study on the guidance schemes of the Ministry of Education and Research (PLS-Consult, 1987[4]), concludes that the general impression is that folkeskole pupils are highly satisfied with the guidance they receive. 60 - 70% of young people state that they got something or a great deal out of the guidance activities in which they took part. In the case of periods spent in training and practical vocational placements, some 80% found the period to be positive. However, approximately 50% of young people also had negative experiences of the guidance, primarily the lack of interest and lack of knowledge among the counsellors. The vocational work experience was not organised well enough or was not followed up sufficiently well according to many young people. The young people want more and earlier guidance in the folkeskole and would like more practical experience. They want a counsellor with specialist training who they can talk to both on objective requirements with regard to education and training and occupations and on any school problems they have, which can be difficult to talk to a form teacher about (ibid, p. 123).

A study from the municipality of Odense (Skov, 1989[28]) on cooperation between schools and surrounding society and pupils' schooling, in which a total of 3,300 pupils responded to questionnaires, shows, however, that the form teacher is an essential person when education and training choices are to be discussed. 80% of the pupils in the Odense study have spoken to their form teacher, whilst only 50% have spoken to a teacher counsellor. However, the significance of the teacher counsellor is judged by the pupils to be higher than that of the form teacher in the previously mentioned study (PLS-Consult, 1987[4] (table report on "folkeskole pupils", p. 51)), although the significance of neither of the two counsellors as a person to talk to is assessed as highly as parents. This study too confirms that the training and vocational practical period is a very important instrument of guidance for the young people.

A progress study of the educational and vocational choices of 500 15-19 year-olds which has just been completed concludes that around 40% of young people assess the help given by the school in the preparation of choices as

positive. However, the assessment of the help given by the folkeskole falls when the young people are in youth education. A positive assessment of the assistance from the folkeskole and the follow-on school is seen as being linked to the degree of "success" in the chosen education or training course: self-evaluation, contentment, feeling of coping well, marks attained, higher social-group status etc. (Jørgensen, 1993[29]). The practical period in the folkeskole, vocational experience from leisure-time jobs and other activities giving experience stand out as what have given the young people most pleasure. The pupils also give very high priority to the school's discussions with parents.

Young people in upper secondary school (gymnasium) and higher preparatory courses (HF), which forms part of the Ministry of Education and Research study from 1987, indicates that the need for guidance in particular occurs last in the course of education, where conditions for admission to higher studies impose themselves. An upper secondary-school reform from 1988 (Ministry of Education and Research, 1987[30]), however, now offers young people the chance to orient themselves earlier because subjects at various levels in the gymnasium give different opportunities for entry to higher education. Several of these young people mention that the study guidance provided in the gymnasium is better able to inform them about opportunities in higher education than the counsellors from the folkeskole. Many also indicate that guest teachers from surrounding society in connection with study-orientation meetings have been rewarding, and that there is also a great desire for practical experience in the general study-preparation course. The young people in the gymnasium generally state that there is too little time for guidance, and young people with negative experiences of the guidance criticise the lack of interest of the counsellors in particular.

Many young people have taken part in induction activities with great benefit, but it nevertheless appears in this study that a relationship of trust in the counsellor is not built up in such a way that guidance on private and personal problems is as extensive as the young people need. A more recent study of the gymnasium/HF study guidance (GL, 1992[9]) shows that some 50% of the young people in the gymnasium are dissatisfied with the study guidance and that only 10% consider the study guidance to have played a role in their choice of education, training or vocation. On the other

hand, by far the majority of the approximately 70% in the study who did not actually have a discussion with their counsellor feel that the counsellor had plenty of time for the discussion.

In the previously mentioned study of pupils in Århus (Jørgensen, 1993[29]), it is pointed out that individual discussions are very important to young people. In the gymnasium and commercial school in particular, the young people wish to have frequent, periodic and compulsory discussions with a counsellor who knows them well. Many pupils feel that there is insufficient time for personal guidance. At technical school, the demand is particularly for opportunities for practical work experience, visits etc., but the young people generally regard the study counsellor as the person who is best placed to help them in planning their futures, rather than the specialist teacher, although getting on for half the young people say that have not had a personal discussion with or know their counsellor.

Young people in the vocational schools have been the object of qualitative recent studies to the same extent as young people in folkeskole (primary and lower secondary school) and gymnasium (upper secondary school). Ministry of Education and Research studies from 1987 (PLS-Consult, 1987[6]) demonstrate that young people have a great need for individual guidance and consider guidance resources to be insufficient and wish to have searching-out guidance in particular. However, the guidance is regarded as highly effective in the vocational school, and many pupils indicate that they have already received guidance on work experience placements and employment information at collective meetings a few months into their course. Both at commercial schools and at technical schools, the guidance appears to be most intensive in the first few years of education and training. 95% of young people in the second part of the 1987 study state that they wish to have more information on further education and training and employment opportunities. A study of the experience of training of commercial school pupils from 1991 is - on a not entirely systematic basis - highly critical of the guidance processes and has led to several counsellor studies within institutions in this area of youth education.

Only sporadic studies have been made of the needs of young people for and experience of guidance in higher education. The Ministry of Education and

Research report on quality of guidance (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 54[7]) recommends that the technical content of the guidance in particular should be strengthened. A study from 1989 on change of studies and choices concludes that most small-scale studies show reasonable satisfaction with guidance among young people. Interviews with young people who have given up studying natural science at the University of Copenhagen have shown, however, that the young people in particular lacked advance information on everyday life as a student and on more informal circumstances in their studies such as the studying environment, methods of working and requirements for the amount of work required. (Bredo, 1990[31]).

Young people who visit or are visited by the youth guidance officer are most interested in specific offers of work and training, but many young people also have an interest in receiving personal advice. In the 1987 study, a number of young people state that if they had received proper guidance a little earlier, they would have embarked on a training course. Some of these young people outside the education system have experienced inadequate interest among counsellors and teachers, which has made them more indifferent towards the school system. It should be specified, however, that this group of young people will often have severe social problems and a great need for guidance. Most youth guidance officers report a good relationship of trust with the young people in the target group, and state they have been able to help these young people with relevant references to other help organisations (PLS-Consult, 1987[6]).

A major study in 1980 among counsellors from folkeskole, vocational and gymnasium schools concludes that the counsellors in the three areas of education mostly let the pupils take the initiative for the individual discussions, and that the counsellors spend a great deal of time on attending to administrative duties, giving information and arranging matters of a technical and organisational nature. The study, which was based on questionnaires and diary entries from the practical work of the counsellors, also shows that the counsellors deal with problems "with" the pupil more than problems "for" the pupil. The study additionally shows that there is little agreement between the official objectives, the counsellors' own objectives and ideals for guidance and the practical situation the counsellors actually face. Although the study is thirteen years old, many

of its conclusions are probably still valid (Jørgensen, 1986, p.32[32]).

Young Danes have good access to and make substantial use of the guidance schemes that exist in and around the education system. The methods are concentrated on collective and individual guidance and the integration of guidance topics into teaching, both in the folkeskole and at the beginning of youth education. Many young people consider guidance during basic schooling to be essential and significant for their choice of education, training and vocation, and a large proportion of young people are usually satisfied with their guidance. However, there is also a large group of young people who could wish for more - and more committed - guidance, both on educational and vocational opportunities and on personal problems.

To summarise, it can be said that good guidance in the view of young people means

- counsellors being committed and confidence-inspiring people, who have plenty of time when one goes to see them
- counsellors themselves visiting pupils, offering both individual and collective guidance
- the guidance being started earlier, e.g. in the fifth to sixth forms
- the guidance activating young people not being theoretically based passing-on of information
- the guidance involving the young people and their own experiences e.g. of work experience placements, leisure-time work and the working situations of parents
- counsellors having up-to-date real knowledge of the education system(s) and the labour market
- guidance involving both formal requirements and more informal requirements in connection with education, training and the labour market
- the guidance being linked more closely to "reality" using expanded practical work experience opportunities, guest teachers, visits to the labour market etc.
- the guidance being more coherent from one system to another (e.g. from folkeskole to youth education)

If these wishes are compared with the criticism of guidance, it appears

that the methods and content of guidance in the education sector should be improved. As mentioned previously, initiatives have also been taken in recent years for studies on and improvements to the guidance given in the education system, although more resources have not been noticeably allocated. It must, however, be borne in mind that the expectations of those seeking guidance are not always on a par with the capabilities of guidance. In a society with high unemployment, severe pressure on the education system and highly complex options and conditions for admission, it is often beyond the scope of guidance when the young person actually obtains a satisfactory training and employment situation.

2.4.2. Experience and needs in labour-market guidance

It is characteristic of guidance provided in the context of the labour market that it is concentrated on and integrated into measures to combat unemployment. The guidance is provided regularly, and in connection with the provision of education, training and work for young people is a compulsory element both for counsellors and for the young person. If comparisons are made with other countries, the guidance in both the education system and labour-market services emerge as being well structured and coordinated at both the regional and local levels. All guidance services are provided and paid for by the public authorities, but many actors are involved and the system as such is not always regarded as working well by the users (European Foundation, 1992, p. 9").

In contrast to the guidance in the education system, there is also an element of control and compulsion in the labour-market guidance, which is related to the activation programmes. In connection with the implementation of the duty in youth services to receive introductory and employment provisions, there was considerable discussion in the media on the reaction of young people to this compulsion. According to a study of the first period of the youth benefit scheme and the experience of the scheme among 18-19 year-olds, the proportion who apply and reject the activation offered is quite small (6%), but there may perhaps be young people who do not apply at all because of the requirement. Altogether it is estimated that approx. 30,000 young people (approx. 1/4 of all young people in the age group) have been in touch with the scheme. The study shows that of the 838 recipients

of youth benefit questioned, there is a very good or quite good understanding that young people who wish to receive financial assistance from the municipality have to work to obtain this assistance (Engelund, 1992[20]). Women are slightly more positive than men, but no clear connection is seen with the educational or social background the young people have. It is not possible to demonstrate on the basis of this study, however, whether the slightly older young people (the 20-24 year-olds) who today are covered by the scheme are equally positive about the activation requirements.

Not all young people stay in the scheme during the period for which they have the right to do so. The study, which covers two-thirds of all Danish municipalities, shows that of the young people who received assistance in the spring of 1991 only half took up the offer of employment. There is a tendency for young people with a background in the higher social groups to stay in the scheme for the shortest time. Around one in six already drop out in the introductory period, generally due to work or having started on a course of education or training, whilst the remainder find it difficult to see the point of the activation provided.

Young people's assessments of the introductory courses and the employment provided are predominantly positive, but mostly among those who perhaps have "least" need, that it is to day those who have completed youth education. The employment effect is difficult to gauge, but it does not appear that young people who have taken up an offer of employment obtain work or start on training more commonly than those who have not. One of the explanations is obviously that a employment provided under a job-creation scheme often gives extremely brief - if any - contact with the working world. Very few young people are confronted with the general, open labour market. Nor do the majority of young people (62%) themselves regard their opportunities for obtaining or keeping paid work as having been improved. On the other hand, just under half have the experience of having gained a little or far greater amount of self-confidence, whilst the remainder consider their self-confidence to be unchanged.

Evaluation of the youth services scheme comes to the conclusion that the scheme cannot be described as a brilliant method for maintaining and developing young people's vocational abilities in order to prevent

unemployment becoming a barrier in relation to the labour market (ibid, p. 112). On the other hand, participation in the scheme can become the little "realistic" nudge that is needed to get some of the young people out of the inactivity of passive welfare. Young people's support for the requirement of activity should perhaps be viewed in this light. The idea of the effect of the "little nudge" has been expanded in the new law on two-year initial vocational training for young people without qualifications to a strong nudge in the direction of formal training (cf. 2.2.3.). It is obviously not yet known how this law will be received by the young people. There is also a compulsory element in this law, in that dropping out of an initial vocational training (EGU) course can lead to loss of the right to cash assistance. A consequence of this compulsion may be the risk of a new youth proletariat being formed.

The training (UTB) and job-creation (ATB) schemes for unemployed people entitled to daily benefit seem, like the youth benefit scheme, to have a good effect for unemployed people if the major effect is disregarded, namely the employment effect! The UTB/ATB scheme is estimated as a whole to take three out of ten out of long-term unemployment over the course of one to two years after the training or work has been provided, but the employment effect of the training provided is significantly smaller (approx. 13%). However, the employment effect varies with the background of the participants. In the UTB courses, the effect is smallest for older people, single people with small children, the unskilled and those with a short period of education. It is not possible specifically to assess the benefit young people obtain from this training.

The training and job-creation schemes under the Public Employment Service, on the other hand, contribute to a great extent to an improvement in the personal prospects of the unemployed. Both job-creation schemes, self-chosen training and the shorter UTB schemes appear in the views of the unemployed themselves to contribute towards increasing their qualifications. They either learn about new specialist areas or increase their qualifications within the specialist area they know beforehand. Self-confidence and optimism are also greatly increased, although most for people in self-selected training. Training provisions in particular increase interest in obtaining work and increase job-seeking activities

(Thaulow, 1992[34]).

Several studies point to the importance of making guidance visible as a guidance service and not a controlling measure. A small-scale study of the experiences of guidance of a group of unskilled unemployed people (AF and AMN - Greater Copenhagen, 1991[35]) points out that the guidance must come very early in the period of unemployment and that individual discussions produced the greatest yield. It is important to give those who are unsure in particular plenty of time and opportunity for help in personal planning, which a large proportion of unskilled unemployed people are not accustomed to. It appears in this study that those who know what they want are best able to utilise the existing guidance services, whilst those who are unsure and those who are used to coping for themselves and not asking for anything both get too little out of the guidance provided under the Public Employment Service.

An overall assessment of the job-creation schemes for the long-term unemployed under the Public Employment Service shows that

- work provided in private firms has a better effect than work provided in the public sector
- self-chosen training courses produce a greater employment effect and motivation than the shorter UTB courses, which cannot, however, be distinguished from the two types of training scheme attended by different target groups
- longer training courses help the long-term unemployed to get started again better than the shorter ones (Mærkedahl, 1992, section 7.4.[17]).

Some studies show that the impact and effect of the various activation measures are closely related to the activation instruments and forms of guidance used. The second Danish report of the action research project "Eurocounsel" (Plant, 1993[3]) points out that projects led and managed by the unemployed themselves are highly regarded by the users, particularly where the projects are supported by voluntary commitment and professional counsellors. It is also pointed out that the projects which contain elements of self-management, self-help and voluntary labour do not necessarily ensure that those people who need guidance, jobs or other forms of assistance actually obtain the assistance they need (ibid, p. 36).

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It is striking to how great an extent the various evaluations of the guidance in unemployment-combating measures or projects more of the nature of social/psychological "reconstruction" all underline the value of and need for increased self-confidence. Self-determination, clarity over one's own resources and the experience of new personal qualifications play a decisive role in the individual's motivation for taking an active part in the processes of society. This conclusion is also seen in the European context: in the evaluation of the youth initiatives of the PETRA programme, it is said that the openness of the youth projects towards young people being able to arrange and try out new methods and procedures in accordance with their own needs, expectations and problems is important, particularly "against the background of modern society's existing structures, which have a tendency to promote inhibitions, passivity, isolation and lack of independence, resulting in a lack of initiative and renewal. The youth initiatives are an exception, because they encourage initiative, enterprise and a sense of responsibility (...) The young people understand that they have responsibility for themselves and each other (PETRA, 1991, p.40").

To summarise, it can be said that the guidance schemes under labour-market services, which are concentrated on combating unemployment, have good long-term effects by virtue of the fact that the scheme increases unemployed people's self-confidence, motivation for training or continued job-searching and the experience of improved qualifications. However, it is difficult to gain an overview of the direct employment effect, particularly in the shorter training or job-creation schemes. The duty of activation is regarded as being something good by most people, but the most poorly "equipped groups" (short period of schooling, long-term unemployment, strained family situation etc.) in particular benefit least from the schemes.

Good guidance is characterised by:

- individual guidance, where there is time to devise a plan for choices of training and work on the basis of the individual's wishes and background
- visible connection between the various guidance and monitoring bodies (Public Employment Service, unemployment insurance funds, UTB training institutions)
- guidance and activation provisions with a high degree of participant

management

- individually adapted activation schemes
- guarantee of work or practical experience
- committed counsellors who do not turn the person seeking guidance into a client

There is thus also a close-meshed guidance network in the labour-market services around those young people with which they cannot avoid coming into contact, particularly in unemployment, in any case if they wish to make use of the financial assistance built into various schemes. But as in the education system forms of guidance, there is criticism here of the quality and scope of the guidance.

3. PROBLEM AREAS IN GUIDANCE, ILLUSTRATED BY SELECTED TARGET GROUPS

3.1. Discussion of the selection of target groups

Within the four-cell framework devised by CEDEFOP for the analysis of special target groups of young people, a three-part mobility concept was used (CEDEFOP, 1993, p. 6-15[4]):

- physical and geographical mobility among young people
- mobility of qualifications, understood here as the attainment of skills and competence through education and training as an element in social mobility and occupational mobility
- personal openness and ability to re-adjust as part of intercultural competence, i.e. a more psychological and cultural type of mobility

These concepts of mobility are incorporated into a socio-economic and spatial-cultural framework which focuses on the voluntariness/involuntariness of mobility. The analytical model attempts to classify young people into four types:

1. - the involuntarily mobile, i.e. young people who for social, ethnic, occupational reasons have been compelled to "move" geographically, mentally, occupationally without it actually being their wish to do so. These young people are mobile "against their will" and will often be at risk of social and economic marginalisation, at any rate if they do not "move".
2. - the involuntarily immobile, who due to actual social, economic and educational marginalisation remain locked into their position. These will often be young people weak in resources, who can be classified as the "ejected".
3. - the voluntarily immobile, who are characterised by more or less adapted integration into the life of society and expectations society has of them. The known, the certain means that they do not need to move, particularly geographically. In the Danish context they could be called "everyday people"
4. - the voluntarily mobile, who actively and often with many resources expand their "field of operation", both geographically, occupationally and socio-culturally. These will often be young people with self-confidence, parental backing and a good educational background. They

could be called the "go-ahead" in the Danish context.

An attempt to cover the needs for guidance of young Danes in relation to the framework of understanding outlined here takes as its starting-point the traditional Danish concept of guidance, namely compensatory guidance. A conscious search has been made here for youth groups which appear to have a difficult transition from youth to adult life or, to put it differently, from school and education to working life. The working hypothesis has been that young people who exhibit "problem behaviour" (in any case from the point of view of social observation), in particular transitional phases in the education system or in the transition from school to working life must have special guidance needs. Another starting-point has been that the problems and guidance needs of these youth groups can provide more general information on "gaps" in the Danish provision of guidance to all young people.

Two youth groups are selected here which in recent years have attracted interest in Denmark, firstly because the numbers of the two groups are increasing and secondly because the problems of these youth groups suggest inappropriate social development:

1.) A group of young people who after basic schooling immediately search for work unsuccessfully in the labour market, with a risk of being locked into social transfer income, without education and training providing vocational qualifications, with little work experience and with a risk of prolonged rejection from the labour market.

2.) A group of young people who do not follow the "straight path" from basic schooling through youth education or further education and training courses to education and training providing vocational qualifications, but are characterised by dropping out, changes of study and options etc. This group can be subdivided into at least two groups:

a) Young people in the youth education system, who drop out or change course

b) Young people who complete youth education preparing for academic studies, start on higher education but drop out or change course.

Particular emphasis will be put here on opting out of or changing course in youth education.

However, various other youth groups have emerged during the course of this analysis which exhibit "problem behaviour", from which the young people themselves - or the researchers who have analysed the problem areas - deduce guidance needs. It is only laid down in the CEDEFOP presentation that two selected groups of young people and their guidance needs were to be looked at more closely. Merely for the sake of completeness, mention must be made here of some of the vulnerable young people which could also have been picked out for closer examination. Some of the training needs of the young people have been identified in the examination of these other youth groups:

- **young criminals**

  Studies of the registered crime rate among young people shows a marked drop in youth crime over the past ten to fifteen years. Young men in particular are more disciplined, whilst crime among young women has fallen to a lesser extent. Recent studies of criminal behaviour in children and young people (Kyvsgaard, 1992[37]) points out that - in addition to a general drop - there has been increased polarisation of crime, in that there are more children who do not commit crimes at all, fewer who do so several times, but among those who do commit serious crimes, there have become relatively more who commit a large number of crimes. This polarisation is also seen in a worsening of the relationship of those threatened by criminality and their parents and schools, which has become substantially more of a problem. Qualitative studies of the causes of criminal behaviour among the young indicate that children who have had very weak learning of norms during the first few years of life, particularly in the first few years of school, will find it particularly hard to stay within the behavioural criteria of school normality. This first stigmatisation may for some children later mean a choice of crime as behaviour which gives prestige.

  The studies indicate that inadequate integration into the education system or the labour market is one of the major characteristics of young people threatened by criminal behaviour. Interviews with young people suggest that if they become capable through education and work of acquiring new prestige, this can make contraventions of the law unnecessary as a way of attaining social prestige (Zeuner, 1990[38]).

Viewed from the perspective of guidance, two needs arise which cannot be met by guidance, but where guidance can act as a catalyst. One is a need for involving the parents', particularly mothers', practice of upbringing very early on, at nursery school and early school age. The provision of actual "parental training" in the form of individual or collective guidance could in particular reassure parents who find it difficult to set limits and thus - with better learning of norms - prevent early experiences of deviant behaviour for the child. The second need is the need for a special effort in relation to young people who have been involved in temporary criminal behaviour, to keep them in training and job-creation schemes so that they avoid becoming systematically criminal. In Denmark withdrawal of charges is extensively used for the very young in this group, but there is perhaps insufficient follow-up with persistence and experience of success in education, training and work contexts.

- **the retarded and mentally ill**

In addition to problems with general and technical special education and work training, these youth groups will also have problems with housing and family establishment, participation in social life and leisure services etc. The need for guidance here comprises not only education and working conditions, but also home training, leisure training, stimulation of social interaction and self-esteem. These young people will often be at risk of social rejection and rejection at work if a professional counsellor (generally a curator) is not appointed for them. However, structural problems are also experienced here, e.g. the continuation schools have proved to be more suitable for pupils of this type, who cannot be admitted to continuation schools after their eighteenth birthdays (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993[39]).

- **immigrants and refugees**

Young immigrants and refugees or young second-generation immigrants and refugees face a high risk of marginalisation, in social, cultural and educational terms. In Denmark, the unemployment rate among young immigrants (aged 16-24) is two to three times higher than for young Danes. Part of the explanation is substantially poorer schooling, in that 90% of all 15-24 year-old immigrants do not have education and

training giving vocational qualifications and some have not even completed basic schooling, e.g. 24% of 18-20 year-old Turkish men have left in the eighth to ninth forms, whilst this is only the case for 1% of young Danes (Jeppesen, 1988, p. 76[40]). Other explanations and problems are to be found in the rootlessness and divided minds seen in many second-generation immigrants, because their ties to both the original and the new culture are weak and because there are often problems of understanding between parents and young people.

Many analyses of immigrant/refugee problems indicate a need for far more attention to be given to children of refugees in Danish schools, the right to be taught in one's mother-tongue etc. The content of guidance and in particular the methods should be developed, so that the guidance does not only cover the individual young person but the family, group and social network the young person moves in. The guidance will generally have to be given as part of national assistance work in housing areas and meeting-places (Sociology, 1992, p. 242[41]). There is no overall guidance policy at present for immigrants and ethnic minorities. Danish Refugee Aid (Dansk Flygtningshjælp) obviously cooperates closely with the careers advisers of the Public Employment Service, but the guidance provided to this group is also dependent on the political will and priorities of the municipalities. In the municipality of Copenhagen, for example, special guidance is provided for immigrants through the School and Youth Guidance Service (Skole- og Ungdomsvejledningen) and through the Education Centre for Immigrants (Undervisningscenter for Indvandere) (Youth Information, 1993, p. 57[42]).

- **<u>women in non-traditional, male occupations</u>**

Despite tough battles in the education system and various kinds of experimental educational work and equality campaigns, young women still find it difficult to compete with male colleagues for work in the traditional male occupations (Rosdahl, 1990, p. 25[43]). Experience from several projects shows that the young women who seek male trades can be broadly divided into two groups: a) young women who have mental strength and a strong interest in the selected trade and who on encountering repeated barriers in the labour market often opt, for example, against the skilled industrial sector and for the more technically based further education and training courses and the labour market, b) young women who

due to unemployment and educational barriers seek male occupations as a last resort. Self-confidence training, network formation, e.g. in relation to women in male occupational groups, is a guidance service which both groups of women often demand (Sørensen, 1992, p. 116[44]).

A closer look could also have been taken at:

- quiet, capable girls, who particularly in the generally upper-secondary and commercially related youth education courses cope very well but nevertheless - and quite consciously - choose shorter courses with an opportunity for part-time work, so that they also have scope for a husband and children (Damsholt, 1990[45]). Do they get jobs? Are they satisfied? Is there scope for family life? Are they internationally oriented, although they often choose courses which have an international content (e.g. correspondent)?

- young people in the unemployment queue, who do not receive youth benefit services and who remain passive and no longer receive national assistance: What becomes of them? How do they sustain themselves? What do they get up to?

- young people who are in work, with varying educational backgrounds. Do they get jobs in the occupations they wanted? How do their qualifications develop and what is their occupational and geographical mobility like? What needs do they have for guidance on qualification development, job-changing, opportunities for work abroad etc?

Finally it would presumably have been extremely rewarding to look at ways of life (coherent set of values for living conditions), with which the young people have grown up from home and which they themselves wish for, and the connection between these and their attitudes towards work, leisure and future and the needs for guidance. To what extent does differing awareness of ways of life determine e.g. whether the need for guidance is highly "help-to-choose-process" oriented or geared more towards "give me information, then I can make the choice myself"? On the whole, a great deal of information on the guidance needs of young people will obviously be found in analyses of young people's view of and growing-up in different ways of life. Individual holistically oriented analyses have been started

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but have not yet been completed.

On the basis of an assumption that youth groups who have special problems in the transitional phases from basic schooling to labour market or in the transitions from basic schooling to youth education/youth education to higher education may be able to uncover inadequacies in the guidance services provided, two target groups have been selected for closer examination:

1. **unemployed young people locked into transfer incomes**
2. **young people in the education system who drop out, change course or double-train themselves, with particular emphasis on young people in the youth education courses.**

3.2. LOCKED-IN, UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE

As mentioned in 2.3.2., unemployment among the young is substantially higher than the general unemployment rate. Almost half the young people in the labour market are affected by unemployment in the course of a year. On average, one in five 15-25 year-olds are fully unemployed or on an activation scheme. Of those who have only undergone basic schooling, 90% will experience a period of unemployment before their 26th birthdays.

There are several barriers for young people. One of them can be discerned in a comparison between unemployment statistics and pay development from the age of 17 to 18. Agreed pay to which young people are entitled from their eighteenth birthdays rises so sharply that the average income for 18 year-olds is 36% higher than 17 year-old unskilled young people (Social Commission, p. 95[46]). This sudden transition to adult pay means that many young unskilled people lose their jobs on reaching the age of eighteen.

Young people who have been on the labour market long enough to be entitled to receive daily benefit cope better in subsequent employment than those who enter the national assistance system immediately, in the sense that they find work again sooner. If the young person has had stable employment for a few years, several studies show that the risk of becoming long-term unemployed is very low. Conversely, it is clearly apparent in the Social Commission's progress analysis of 18-25 year-old young people from 1981-89

that there is a connection between the extent of public welfare in the year in which the young person receives cash assistance or daily benefit for the first time and the risk of prolonged dependence on the system. If the first period of daily benefit or cash assistance is long, there is a greater likelihood of the young person being locked into the passive receipt of public assistance for a longer periods of years. The likelihood of becoming dependent over a prolonged period is highest for young people on cash assistance. The 18-20 year-old cash assistance recipients from 1981 received support on average for 34 months over the period 1981-91, and recipients of daily benefit were supported for 28 months, whilst the average for the whole age group (18-25 year-olds) is 17 months of public welfare. Approx. 8% of recipients of daily benefit received benefit payments for more than five years, whilst approx. 20% of recipients of cash assistance received benefit for so long during the period 1981-89.

It is also clear from the analysis that 81% of the hardest hit only have basic schooling or non-completed vocational training behind them, and that two-thirds of the hardest hit are women. During the course of the 1980s, there was a substantial number of young people who received transfer income over a prolonged period. Of those who were between 18 and 20 years old in 1981, approx. 27,000 - or 13% of this age group - received public assistance for more than three years over the period 1981-89.

Young people's social background and their parents' dependence on daily benefit and cash assistance when the young people were living at home are of great significance in determining who become locked-in recipients of transfer income. It is found that there is a clear trend towards children of families which are dependent on transfer payments also drawing more on the transfer system than children whose families did not receive transfer income. The difference is most marked for young people from families of managers and higher civil servants, but it also applies to the other groups of civil servants, skilled workers and the self-employed. There may be many reasons for the connection between the use of public support by young people and their families, e.g. the fact that the families are less able to help the children, because they themselves are supported by low public benefits. Greater familiarity with and acceptance of the transfer system among the young people in these families is another possible explanation

(Social Commission, 1992, p. 198[47]).

Another characteristic feature of young recipients of daily benefit or cash assistance is that those with the least schooling in particular improve their level of qualifications least over the course of time. For example, only one in five recipients of cash assistance who in 1981 only had basic-level schooling achieve education and training providing qualifications in the period from 1981-89, whilst one in two recipients of cash assistance with general upper-secondary education in the same period attain education and training giving vocational qualifications (ibid, p. 45).

The economic level of public welfare means that young people with social transfer income have almost the same income as young people in the unskilled labour market. As the educational assistance schemes operate today, from a short-term, consumption-oriented point of view it is not much more attractive to be in education and training than to be unemployed and on cash assistance. In the longer term, there are obviously good arguments for taking training, partly because living incomes then rise, and partly because the risk of unemployment is reduced. There has been discussion in the political public in many contexts of the need for it not to "pay" to be unemployed. Neither is this the case, but conversely the financial incentive is particularly low for those young people

- who receive daily benefit corresponding to 90% of the previous income from work
- who can obtain a job on the minimum wage or a level of pay only slightly above the minimum level of the labour market
- who are unemployed main providers on cash assistance, where child allowance and until recently a day institution are provided in addition to basic benefit.

For young people as a whole, there will always be a "gain" in being in work, but a large group will only see their current disposable incomes increased by 200-500 kroner per month after tax. For some people, expenditure on transport, possibly moving home, day institution etc. can easily suck up the increase in income (Social Commission, 1992, p. 18[48]). This situation will obviously contribute towards keeping young people who are least motivated for being integrated into educational and working life

in particular in a locked-in immobile position.

Against the background of the very brief outline given here of the situation of the most poorly positioned young unemployed and the Social Commission's very comprehensive analyses, the following circumstances can be established, on which political work must be based:

- sudden age-related jump in pay (age 18) causes risk of ejection from the labour market precisely at the age level when social acceptance of the individual is very important for continued positive development
- a stable connection with the labour market in the "debutant years" is important for the young person's continued retention in the labour market
- the risk of being locked into public welfare benefits is greatest for those young people who in addition to having short education or having curtailed vocational training are children or parents who themselves are in receipt of public welfare support
- the risk of being left unemployed for a long time and being a "large recipient" of public assistance is greatest for the young people who receive cash assistance, compared with those who have been connected to the labour market for a sufficiently long time for them to be admitted to the unemployment insurance system
- the financial incentives for young people on transfer income to start on education and training are regarded as so low that many young people, particularly among recipients of cash assistance, choose not to improve their level of qualifications

These analyses have led to great political favouring of the activation of young people in Denmark. As has also become apparent from 2.2., legislation has been enacted in recent years which firstly offers young people who receive public assistance the chance to take part in activation schemes a very short time after unemployment has occurred and secondly provides an opportunity for the municipalities to organise two-year training and practical experience courses which can lift the young people out of passive receipt of welfare and endow them with qualifications relevant to the labour market.

It is not possible, against the background of the material presented here,

to assess the geographical mobility of the socially and educationally most weakly positioned young unemployed people, but it is suggested by the discussion on the economic level of public assistance that there is no financial incentive to move geographically in order to find work. It ought also to be clear from the demonstration of the slight improvement over time in the level of education and training of the recipients of cash assistance with the shortest education that qualification - and thus social - mobility does not take place to any great extent in this group of young people. Unfortunately, neither has it been possible to find studies in which the statements of young people themselves shed light on mobility and wishes for education, training and work in this group of young people.

However, the evaluations of the UTB/ATB schemes and the youth benefit scheme (2.4.2.) shows that personal development takes place and a greater perception of self-esteem is created among the young people who take part in activation measures. In conjunction with conclusions from the Danish EUROCOUNSEL action research project (Plant, 1993[5]) on the effect of new guidance methods (including self-management) and periods spent abroad (discussed in 2.4.2.), the more personal openness - and in some cases cultural openness - could perhaps be used by some of these locked-in young people as a take-off point for increased occupational and social mobility.

However, in the new labour-market reforms of 1993 restrictions have also been introduced on the right of young people to receive unemployment daily benefit if they for example start on a training course which is approved for state educational assistance. Likewise, it is no longer possible from 1.1.1994 for unemployed persons to acquire a right to daily benefit if the municipalities are paying subsidies for the unemployed person's work. This will have consequences particularly for young people who to date have to a large extent entered the unemployment insurance fund system and have acquired the right to daily benefit through job-creation schemes with municipal pay subsidies.

As has become apparent for example from the analyses of the youth benefit scheme in the municipalities (2.2.3.) and the UTB/ATB scheme (2.2.1.), there is less than total satisfaction with the present schemes particularly among the young people who have the weakest educational and social

backgrounds. Confidence in their ability to achieve improving qualifications and lasting connection with the labour market is not high, and the actual employment effect is also low. It is worrying that those young people who may be presumed to have the greatest need for activation have taken part in job-creation schemes less commonly. It is also among these young people that dissatisfaction is greatest. The (excessively) short activation provision is now supplemented by a two-year vocational preparatory course which the municipalities can offer, but it may be feared that a group of young people will also drop out of these schemes if the guidance element is not greatly strengthened.

From the point of view of guidance, the activation provisions for locked-in young people must primarily

- be based on the young people's own wishes, i.e. work with individually organised courses
- give the young people time to clarify what they want in connection with the building-up of self-confidence, since many young people experience a loss of identity and self-esteem in connection with a difficult transition from basic schooling to a rejecting labour market
- integrate the guidance provisions in education and job-creation schemes into a continuous course where the young person's wishes and needs are followed up over a period of years
- give an opportunity to obtain an overview of how help can be attained and for what, i.e. greater coherence between municipal education, training and employment services, local education and training institutions, the Public Employment Service and the guidance schemes
- contain an opportunity for the young people to obtain support from and familiarity with counsellors who possess the necessary commitment, the necessary understanding of the young person's social background and set of values and the necessary resources to help the young people through the processes which are to train and motivate them for active participation in the education and labour markets.

Guidance cannot solve young people's most serious problems:
lack of work and lack of education and training places, but it must be postulated here that precisely those young people who are at greatest risk of being marginalised and locked into the public welfare system can have

their social and qualification mobility, self-esteem and thus openness to participation in cultural and democratic processes increased if the guidance

1. is professionalised through training of the many trained counsellors in the present employment and activation services provided
2. is combined and made visible at the local level, e.g. with a municipal obligation to be in charge of guidance centres to which guidance from all parts of the education and training institutes and labour-market guidance schemes must be connected
3. takes as its point of departure the young person's individual basis of values, groups of friends of acquaintances and social background
4. searches out the young people, partly through activation services in the guidance centres which cover the young people's leisure time, and partly through the counsellors' actual presence in the young people's environments
5. is separated from the monitoring measures which at present are linked to the activation provisions offered both by the municipalities and by the labour market

The unemployed young people who have the greatest risk of being trapped in the public welfare system are young people with only basic-level schooling, little experience of work, who receive cash assistance and whose parents are also in receipt of public assistance. These young people have little motivation - both financially and socially - for improving their level of qualifications. Stable connection with the labour market during youth is extremely important to avoid being a major recipient of public welfare. Initiatives in labour-market legislation have also linked the duty of activation to both unemployment support and cash assistance in the social system. However, analyses suggest that precisely the weakest young people do not obtain the full benefit of the activation provisions. In this context, an improvement in guidance must ensure that the young people are given a better opportunity for individual clarification of objectives, that the young people can gain an overview of the educational and guidance services provided, and that the guidance staff who are to monitor the young people have the necessary understanding of their social backgrounds and norms and are highly committed. Guidance in relation to locked-in young unemployed people must be far more in the nature of searching-out and

holistically oriented and must be separated from the monitoring functions which are linked to public financial assistance.

3.3. YOUNG PEOPLE DROPPING OUT OR CHANGING COURSE IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

In Denmark, the number of young people who leave basic school early (before compulsory education ceases) is very low. Of the approx. 127,000 young people who started in the eighth and ninth forms in 1990, less than 1,500 left in these forms. For young people in the ninth form, the number of drop-outs has halved since 1982, and now accounts for just over 1% of the total number of pupils in the ninth form (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993, p. 29[49]). By far the majority of these young people will be transferred via the national assistance system and school/youth guidance into treatment institutions, protected workshops and working situations which are approved as a substitute for compulsory education. Young people who repeat one of the final years of the folkeskole (ninth or tenth form) are extremely rare in Denmark - they account for only 0.4% of the total number of pupils completing in the period 1982-88. These young people will generally repeat a ninth or tenth school year at a continuation school for social or family reasons (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 33[78]).

92% of young people continue in youth education after basic school, but the drop-out rate in youth education courses is worryingly high. Approx. 15% who start on youth education do not complete it or another youth education course (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993,[51]). Higher education institutions also have a very high drop-out rate: approx. 40% of the more than 40,000 who start every year may be expected to drop out, either because they change course or because they give up further study.

Detours in the education system consist primarily of three types:

- discontinuation of a course which is in progress before it is completed
- completed level of education which does not give vocational qualifications, e.g. completed first year of vocational training or completed first or second year of general upper-secondary education, where the level of education is not utilised
- double training, where education or training is completed at the same or

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lower level of qualifications than a course attended previously

A recent study from the Ministry of Eduction shows that in the period 1982-88 there were 60,000-70,000 drop-outs, non-utilised youth education courses and cases of double training, corresponding to the study time of a whole year of young people (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992[51]). Major human and financial resources have thus been tied up in study courses which are not used or which come to an end with a result which does not bear relation to the input made by the education system or the individual. Drop-outs due to discontinuation account for by far the majority in the period, approx. 58%, comprising 40% in higher education, 12% in the area of vocational education and 4-5% in general upper-secondary education courses. The vocational training courses account for approx. 14% of the 16-17% non-utilised education and training courses, whilst double training accounts for just over 25% in the period, of which approx. 14% in vocational training and 10% in higher education (ibid, p. 31).

If the "inappropriate" migrations in the education system are compared with the development of unemployment over the same period, the following connections are found:

- the number of non-utilised basic training courses in the vocational training area varies with unemployment
- the number of discontinuations is highest at the lowest unemployment
- the number of cases of double training is highest three to four years after the highest unemployment (Burman, 1992, p. 269[52])

Various reforms and changes were implemented at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, one of the purposes of which was to limit the development of inappropriate migrations. Mention may be made here of restrictions on the right of young people to training support when changing course and dropping out of double training, the introduction of instruction compensating for work experience placements in vocational training courses and subsidy schemes and co-financing responsibility for employees, the division of long training courses into shorter and more distinct parts and the provision of higher education courses on a part-time basis.

It has thus become more difficult for young people to change courses and

repeat courses at the same level as earlier, but more flexible opportunities for moving up and down have also been created, particularly in higher education. However, capacity has been cut back in some areas of education, increased in others and payment by participants has been introduced for the open courses. The question, however, is whether these experimental regulations will have the intended effect, or whether the difficulties many young people have in achieving the desired qualifications will still lead to substantial drop-outs and inadequate attainment of a level of education and training giving vocational qualifications, particularly if the unemployment problem is not solved.

The regulations on the education system in relation to the employment situation which were put into effect in the 1970s and 1980s, primarily steering young people's choices through restricted entry, have shown themselves to have serious drawbacks. There is even talk in parts of the education sector and the political system of a collapse of the system (Buksti, 1993, p. 16[53]). It is paradoxical that whilst the lack of training places in some parts of the system (work experience places in the vocational youth education courses) gives rise to very high unemployment for some young people, the higher unemployment for newly trained people in other specialist areas leads to major difficulties in filling training capacity in other parts of the education system (particularly the medium-length and long higher technical education courses).

If we look more closely at the area of youth education, we will see that unemployment in November 1991 was highest for the young people who completed an initial vocational training course (the one-year school course, which precedes a practical agreement with an employer or provides an opportunity for continuation on a vocational upper-secondary course) and then entering the labour market instead of continuing the training. This high unemployment is obviously related to the substantial shortage of work experience places that exists in Denmark: the latest figures from the Ministry of Education and Research show that out of 35,697 young people in vocational training courses who sought a work experience placement in the spring of 1993, only 18,832 had entered into an agreement with an employer at 31.7.1993 (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993[13]). 16,865 would thus like to continue with their vocational training but have not yet had an

opportunity to sign a contract with an employer.

In 1991 a law came into effect on school practical work for young people without a contract with an employer (Ministry of Education and Research, 1991[54]), under which the vocational schools can organise teaching as a substitute for work experience placements. The pupil can only be offered a school practical period if the pupil is judged suitable to continue with vocational training, is mobile in relation to trade, which means that the pupil must be willing to take training in another, related trade sector than the one originally desired (from stonemason to bricklayer, or from waiter to chef), is geographically mobile, i.e. is willing to move to a different region of Denmark, where the school practical period is offered or where a contract can be obtained with an employer, and is himself or herself actively seeking a work experience placement. 3,700 young people are taking part in this scheme at present, which has been heavily criticised, partly because it makes severe demands on the mobility of young people and partly because the instruction compensating for work experience placements is rated very poorly by employers, with a risk of young people with vocational training being divided into an A-squad (with employer agreements) and a B-squad (with "school practical period/state agreement").

Another way in which young people can complete their vocational training has been established through a law stating that young people can take the practical part of their training abroad with a contract with a foreign employer (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992[55]). Many young people, particularly in the commercial and office areas, have shown great interest in this option and work experience places have been greatly sought-after, particularly in Germany. In the 1992-1993 school year there were around 130 young people in work experience placements abroad. Some young people can thus complete a vocational training course in this way, for which subsidies are given for travel and accommodation costs, but major administrative and bureaucratic problems have unfortunately been encountered in getting the two vocational training systems in the country to interact.

The substantial deterioration in the continuation system for young people in the largest area of youth education, vocational training courses, is reflected, as mentioned earlier, in high unemployment, many unutilised

years of education, but also determines drop-outs and changes of course in youth education.

If a corresponding link is made between unemployment and the quantity of places in higher education, a corresponding but converse pattern can be seen: unemployment for newly trained people particularly in the technical short and medium-length higher education courses and the long technical and mathematic higher education courses has grown almost explosively in recent years. Whilst newly trained nurses, doctors and dentists who completed their training in 1991, for example, had an unemployment rate of between 1.2 and 3.8%, the unemployment rate for young people who completed higher education courses in the technical areas is markedly different: architects 50.5%, general engineers approx. 41.5%, mechanical engineers 26.8% (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993, p. 24[56]). These alarming figures for employment opportunities for the newly trained in parts of the education system obviously do not go unnoticed by young people and may be assumed to influence their choices. It can be seen from the admission figures for higher education courses in the summer of 1993 that although approx. 22,800 young people out of more than 61,000 applicants were rejected, there were a total of approx. 6,000 unused places in particular in the general engineer training courses, higher technician education courses and some of the commercial training courses. The pressure on the humanities courses and education and teacher training courses, on the other hand, is great, and between 30 and 60% of applicants to these areas had to be turned down (Buksti, 1993[53]). In addition to those who are turned down, there is obviously also a large number of dissatisfied young people, namely those who at the time of admission were not admitted for the course which was their first priority, but had to start on second or third-priority courses. Entry restrictions are thus part of the background to the drop-outs and changes of course in higher education.

There are very few drop-outs and changes of choice in the Danish basic school, whilst drop-outs in youth education have assumed rising - and large - proportions. A total of 15% of those who embark on youth education do not complete it. In higher education, as many as approx. 40% of students admitted either give up their studies or change to different areas of training. Clear links can be seen between the development of unemployment

and the number discontinuing their courses, the number of unutilised courses and the number of cases of double training. Various statutory regulations to adapt training capacity to the needs of the labour market have been to some extent unsuccessful and are causing increasing difficulties both for the system as such and to a great extent also for the young people.

3.3.1. Young people in youth education

As mentioned in the previous section, the area of vocational training is the area of youth education which is characterised by the greatest "waste of time", almost 40% of all wasted months in the period 1982-86, which was recently analysed by the Ministry of Education and Research (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992[50]), whilst this is found for approx. 7% in the general upper-secondary area.

In the upper-secondary area the wasted time is predominantly due to discontinued courses, whilst in the area of vocational training it is primarily due to unutilised basic training courses, but a large percentage of young people also discontinue their vocational training during the course of the first year. However, there are substantial differences within the area of vocational training. The commercial and office sector had a rate of discontinuation equivalent to that in general upper-secondary education (approx. 7%), whilst the area accounted for approx. 35% of unutilised basic training courses. Within the technical area, the percentage discontinuing is higher, for example approx. 23% in iron/metals. Young people who do not immediately utilise the basic training for continued training account for approx. 43% of all young people in this area. It is also clear that the greatest risk of drop-outs is in the first year of the vocational training courses from the figures for discontinued training in the second-part vocational training courses, where the young people have signed contracts with the employers. Over the period 1982-86, between 5% and 8% discontinued their training agreement or apprentice contract.

Behind the many discontinuations there are - in addition to the more structural causes analysed in section 3.3. - a number of different reasons

for the individual young people. Feedback from municipal youth guidance suggests that disappointment over the content and form of training, unrealistic parental ambitions, lack of motivation due to the unfulfilled primary wish for training, too much theoretical instruction, family and financial causes are among the most common explanations in addition to the lack of work experience places and relevant training places.

The fact that young people actually want training is shown among other things by a regional study in the County of Vejle of the young people undergoing training in 1991 (Racu, 1991[57]). Of the 40% who have gainful employment in the remaining group, only 17% state that would like to be in gainful employment. Over half state that they would prefer to have started on training. Similar studies in Odense (Skov, 1989[28]) show that of the young people who have said that they would like to be doing something different than what they are doing at the moment, more than half are in youth education, whilst 38% are in work. By far the majority would like to have been in different training, but there are also some who would like to have spent a period abroad.

The reasons for discontinuing and the detours the young people choose after discontinuing courses are not the same for the individual groups of youths. A study from the County of Ribe on young people who began or completed an earlier youth education course in 1990 and 1991 and had already either started or completed a previous youth education course shows 1) that the change takes place particular from the commercial/office training courses, 2) that the change is to HF (the two-year upper secondary level for adults) and that two-thirds of the young people in the detour group are girls (Ulstrup Johansen, 1992[58]). This - also qualitative - study suggests that discontinuation of training in the case of a large proportion is due to negative experiences, namely disappointment with the instruction given (this applies particularly to upper-secondary school and commercial school pupils) or the shortage of work experience places (particularly girls at technical school and commercial-school pupils). Positive factors are also involved, however, namely changes of future plans and knowledge of and desire for a different course (this applies particularly to commercial-school pupils).

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The young people in the Ribe study are also asked why they have chosen the training course they have started on as second training. Substantial differences are found here, in that it is particularly a desire to move forwards or backwards in the education system that is the reason given for starting on HF - relatively most often for those who came from a commercial and office vocational training course. A desire for better employment and career opportunities is strongest for those who came from the vocational school area, who often choose to start on a different vocational training course. This explanation is closely connected tc differences in the study and the vocational-preparation character of the various training courses. For young people starting on a new training course after discontinuing a previous one it is thus not just experiences of setbacks in the form of barriers in the education system but also clarification and maturity that lie behind the change of course, and many of the pupils in this study also state that the discontinuation or change of course was not wasted time, as it is described in official statistics. Many counsellors in the education system share the young people's point of view, that a certain percentage of changes of course will be natural in the search for the right training and job. Changes of course should therefore not be treated as a problem as such in guidance, although they are costly from the point of view of socio-economics.

Unfortunately it has not been possible to find material which clearly elucidates the connections between youth cultures in the various youth education courses and the drop-outs which can be registered for each area. A study from the upper-secondary area (Dohn, 1989[59]) suggests that lack of clarification at the time of application for the training course plays a role in young people's motives for completing the training started, as do social relationships in the school (relationships with fellow students, teachers and the teaching environment) and technical difficulties may be the reason for discontinuation. It is also noted in the upper-secondary study that more discontinued their courses who were from families not familiar with the upper-secondary school than in the total group of pupils.

In a small-scale interview study of pupils from the vocational training areas of building/construction and iron/metals, it is pointed out that those who discontinue their courses can be divided into three groups: 1)

those who could not obtain a work experience placement, constituting by far the largest group, 2) those who were dissatisfied with the level of training, who are characterised as slightly older, creative, self-activating pupils and 3) those who for socio-economic reasons drop out and give up. In contrast to the upper-secondary pupils, who generally take decisions on stopping, many of the pupils particularly in the third group of the vocational training courses are distinguished by showing a high level of absence during the course of the training, and in some cases they are removed by the school management (Valsted, 1991[60]).

It ought to be clear that the high rate of drop-outs and changes of course in youth education has structural, socio-cultural and guidance-related causes. The lack of adjustment in the education system to young people's wishes is accounted for where the work experience placement situation and admission to the desired training course in particular seem to influence the opportunities for continuing. Inadequate clarification of aims, knowledge of trade requirements and lack of familiarity with the methods and culture of the various youth education courses seem to point to gaps in the preparation of young people in the transition from basic schooling to youth education. A deeper cultural and structural explanation may possibly lie in the form taken by the comprehensive school in Denmark. Young people in Denmark follow a very secure, continuous progression for approx. ten to eleven years from nursery class to tenth form. A great deal of emphasis is put on teaching the pupils independence, critical response and active involvement in democratic processes, but it takes place in a secure room. As is apparent from the preamble for the folkeskole and can be discerned, for example, in a recently completed study on reading proficiency, great emphasis is put on the need for play and learning at the start of schooling to go hand in hand, precisely in order to make the pupils secure (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993[61]).

Security and confidence, good companionship and cooperation are core values for the Danish folkeskole, and taken together with the ten years of schooling in a normal non-interrupted progression, the transition to youth education courses comes as something of a culture shock for many young people. Cultural differences - both for those who choose to go to upper secondary school (gymnasium) and commercial school (handelsskole), but

particularly for those young people who choose technical school - can give rise to break-up and confusion. Precisely at the age of 16-19, when young people have to find an adult identity and make choices on education and work, many of them will experience some major changes.

For young people who continue on a three-year course (general or vocational upper-secondary youth education), the change from the ten-year continuous progression of basic schooling to a three-year youth education course will probably be least substantial. The cultural differences may also be least substantial. It is a partial change of groups of classmates, a change of teacher and a change of methods of teaching. For young people on vocational training courses the new training course is, however, less continuous. The young people on vocational training courses experience a change-over to a different educational culture, a change of classmates and teacher, but also already experience after the first year having to stand on their feet and look for a work experience placement in the labour market, with the many setbacks associated with repeated rejections. In addition, great demands are made on their geographical and trade mobility. After that - as well as accustoming themselves to the workplace culture - they have to go through a change of school and teacher again, when they start the second part of the vocational training courses. A comparison with corresponding drop-out and re-adjustment problems for other young Europeans who change school and type of education at the age of 12 (Italy, Britain, Belgium), i.e. before substantial youth identity problems arise, would perhaps shed light on whether young Danes have special transition problems due to the change from comprehensive school to the various youth education courses.

Many of the opting-out and change of course problems evidently cannot be solved through guidance, but there is no doubt that the activities preparing for the transition from basic school to youth education can be improved and that guidance on its execution can be strengthened. As young people have pointed out in various studies (cf. 2.4.), the guidance can be improved and drop-outs and changes of course could obviously be reduced through

- earlier guidance during basic school and more coherent guidance between the educational institutions
- searching-out and committed guidance, where the experience of pupils is

brought in

- greater attention in particular for pupils who are uncertain about their aims and wishes and the development of the ability of all pupils to recognise their own abilities and interests as a basis on which to make choices
- introduction of the problems of dropping out and changes of course in the guidance, as they are evidently relevant to many young people
- increased knowledge among counsellors of the teaching cultures of the various training courses.

The Ministry of Education and Research in Denmark launched an ambitious campaign in August 1993 in all the youth education courses, where the schools are urged to record drop-outs for the individual young person and ensure that all who discontinue a youth training course prematurely receive guidance. The Ministry of Education and Research also offers the advice that the training institutions must pay attention to how school culture, cooperation with parents, educational development, differentiation of teaching, guidance and cooperation in particular with the municipal youth guidance officers can contribute towards reducing the drop-out rate. It is obvious that increased attention will force schools, counsellors and pupils to consider and remedy discontinuations to a certain extent. It is equally clear, however, that tighter budgets, an overwhelming quantity of new regulations in all youth education courses and the new service period agreements for teachers, which have increased the number abandoning the teaching sector, are counteracting these intentions. More time, better training courses and more commitment among guidance staff are the main requirements from the sides of the pupils and counsellors, and these are not brought about simply by giving good advice!

Young people in vocational training have by far the highest rate of abandoning courses and also account for most of the unutilised parts of the youth education courses, but there are major differences between the commercial and office training courses and the more technical training courses. Young people in upper-secondary courses and the commercial and office training courses have a drop-out rate of approx. 7% in each area, whilst some technical vocational training areas have rates as high as 19-23%. Attention is drawn firstly to structural causes (the abrupt change-over from comprehensive school to youth education courses and the shortage

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of work experience placements) and secondly to problems of motivation and the clarification of aims, the development of new wishes for the future and socio-cultural causes in the form of lack of familiarity with various youth education cultures. There should be an awareness that the young people themselves do not experience opting-out and changing of course as being an unconditional evil, but also as an element of a maturation process. Improvements in guidance through earlier, searching-out, coherent, committed guidance and the involvement of the problems of opting-out and changing course as well as awareness of cultural differences in youth education could obviously contribute towards reducing the high drop-out rate in youth education. This cannot be done, however, without providing increased resources for guidance activities.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE PROVISION OF GUIDANCE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN DENMARK

4.1. STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

As has become apparent from the foregoing descriptions of the socio-economic, cultural, educational and work-related conditions of young people, young people in Denmark have some specific problems, particularly in the transitional phases from

- basic schooling to the labour market
- basic schooling to youth education
- completed youth education to higher education
- completed vocational training or higher education to the labour market

The main cause of these problems is to be found in structural social problems in the form of high unemployment - particularly high youth unemployment -, shortage of training places in the vocationally oriented youth education courses and the lack of adaptation in admission regulations between the young people's wishes and the needs for trained labour stipulated by society. Other more deep-rooted causes may be found firstly in the structure of the education system, where the transition from ten years of uninterrupted basic education to the more fragmented modules of some of the youth education courses can cause problems for some young people, and secondly in family and labour-market organisation in Denmark, which have brought about an almost "humourless" society with a lack of care and weak adult identification models for some young people. This development, combined with the increased social polarisation due to polarisation of education and a rise in the number of young people who are on transfer income and who are caught in a social legacy, suggests a development of society which has not made it easier for young people to come through the years of youth untroubled.

The symptoms of these circumstances also already described in the foregoing sections with the focus on particularly high and protracted unemployment among young people without education and training giving vocational qualifications and on the many young people opting out, changing course and taking double training in the education system. It can also be discerned

from young people's visions of the future that a very large group of young people desire different social prospects than those the adults have prepared for them.

From the point of view of mobility, there are firstly some impediments in Danish society to social and qualification mobility for young people who cannot complete the desired education and training courses or find places in the labour market, and secondly the same barriers lead to increased requirements for mobility. It is thus clear that the pressure for work experience places in vocational training courses has led to a requirement for increased geographical and trade mobility, and the possibility of completing Danish education through periods spent abroad has opened up. Tighter activity requirements to be met by young unemployed people to receive public assistance is likewise an incentive for increased social and trade mobility.

As has also become apparent, many legislative initiatives have been taken in recent years to remedy young people's unemployment and the situation in which they are locked into the national assistance system and to give the least well educated young people at least two years of vocational-preparation training and vocational experience after basic schooling. One of the most recent initiatives is the campaign on drop-outs in youth education conducted by the Ministry of Education and Research. It is to be hoped that the many political initiatives under the auspices of the Ministries of Education, Culture, Interior, Labour and Social Affairs will lead to the development of an overall youth policy, so that the family and socio-cultural circumstances of young people and their own attitudes to work, education, leisure and family can be taken into account in the strategies that are to benefit the young people.

4.2. REQUIREMENTS TO BE MET BY PRESENT GUIDANCE SERVICES

Although the structural social barriers are serious and have to be solved by political decision-makers and labour-market parties, guidance services are at the core of efforts to help young people through the transitional phases from school to working life in as appropriate a way as possible, both for the young people and for society.

It has become apparent (cf. section 2) that the guidance system in Denmark as such, both in the education sector, on the labour market and in the municipal schemes is thoroughly organised. Guidance has been taken into account by the central authorities as part of the education and labour-market services for young people, and in by far the majority of the systems counsellors work in a coherent and integrated structure. Although the guidance from the point of view of legislation, the system and the counsellors is coordinated and well defined, guidance is not always experienced as such by its users. The guidance integrated into the systems may be experienced by young people as invisible, incoherent and overlapping, precisely because of the decentralisation of guidance to the education and training institutions, municipal job-creation schemes and the Public Employment Service and the many associated actors. In addition, the advantages of the guidance integrated into the system in the form of knowledge of the problems and opportunities of the target groups - whether these are young people in education and training or young people linked to labour-market schemes - also have negative aspects, particularly in those parts of the guidance connected with activation requirements and financial monitoring of the counsellors' functions.

It has become apparent from the present analysis that guidance in Denmark - despite a long tradition, well-organised coordination, many well trained counsellors, integrated and development-oriented method and content - has some weaknesses. Young people identify the need for

- committed counsellors with plenty of time
- searching-out and activating guidance
- guidance activities which are started earlier in basic schooling
- forms of guidance which to a greater degree bring in "reality": visits by guest teachers, opportunities for practical work, parents' places of work
- bringing-in of young people's own experience from the labour market and leisure time
- visibility and coherence between the guidance services at local level, e.g. between education and training institutions (cf. 2.4., 3.2. and 3.3.)
- guidance with the emphasis on "help for self-help"

If experience is additionally brought in from analyses and evaluations of the function of guidance in the education system and labour-market schemes and the alternative forms of guidance, it is seen that young people need

- self-confidence training and help with personal development through guidance
- guidance services to be based on the young people's own set of values and cultural/social environments
- information on education, training and employment opportunities to be up-to-date and relevant to the individual
- individual discussions to be targeted and part of a continuous process
- the part of the guidance which is to support individual clarification of aims to be integrated into a more prolonged progression of education, training and employment

An improvement in existing guidance services, so that the requirements mentioned above are included, is in reality not far removed from the official quality criteria. The latest Ministry of Education and Research report on quality in guidance discusses the following objectives for guidance (Ministry of Education and Research, 1992, p. 17[7]):

- the interests of the person seeking guidance must be at the centre
- the guidance system must be visible, readily accessible, clear and coherent
- information must be available and reliable
- the counsellor must have solid ready knowledge
- the counsellor must know his own limitations and be able to refer to other relevant institutions
- the counsellor must be able to give new ideas, help with clarification, but
- the guidance must not take decisions for the person seeking guidance

The counsellor, in brief, must be neutral, open and honest and be able to fulfil his or her function with professionalism and specialist pride, it is said.

The programme of work of the Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth (CEC, 1993[62]) on vocational guidance touches on similar requirements for guidance, which among other things is intended to

- help the person seeking guidance to clarify aims and take decisions

- motivate the individual to develop skills and knowledge
- help the individual to adapt and influence changes in society, which take place both nationally and at the international/European level
- contribute towards strengthening the opportunities of socially at-risk groups in particular to achieve a satisfactory life with space in the labour market and in social functions
- develop potential in relation to education and work at local and regional levels.

There is broad agreement in the various European guidance bodies that these aims must be attained in a continuous - for the individual life-long - process, using varied methods and with the emphasis on activating the person seeking guidance.

4.3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF GUIDANCE SERVICES

Viewed in the light of the foregoing requirements and in a European context, the overall assessment must be made that Danish guidance services for young people are quite comprehensive. Guidance services are diverse and varied, particularly in the education system, but also in the labour market and in municipal schemes. The counsellors are numerous, well trained and significant resources are devoted to guidance. The guidance methods are varied, and many experiments are conducted to develop methods and content in both the education and labour-market sectors. Coordination of guidance activities takes place at both the regional and national levels and - to some extent - also at local level.

The guidance is integrated into education, training and employment services, but to a lesser extent in the activities of private firms than in public schemes. An overwhelming quantity of information material for use in guidance work comprises printed material, part of which is handed out to all young people in the leaving classes of basic schooling, video productions, work materials for vocational and educational orientation, computer programs etc.

However, guidance in Denmark - as has become apparent from the young people's own statements - is by no means irreproachable, and a number of changes and some tightening-up must be recommended here. In contrast to the

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regulations which are often proposed from the official side, some of the proposals mentioned here are not neutral in relation to expenditure - in any case in the short term!

4.3.1. Organisation of guidance

Although the Danish guidance system has strong national and regional traditions of coordination across the various sectors in which the guidance is exercised, the visibility and coordination of the complete guidance services can be improved - not just for the weakest but for all young people - if

- the local guidance effort in the municipalities is strengthened and coordinated with compulsory counsellor participation in local guidance officer councils, consisting of representatives from education and training institutions at all levels and labour-market-related and social guidance schemes
- alternative guidance services (youth advisory services, women's, immigrants' and legal advice services) are represented in the guidance councils, at both local and regional levels
- open guidance shops similar to the present job shops are opened in the larger towns of all municipalities or in municipal centres. The guidance shops could suitably be accommodated in the houses of culture which exist in many towns, and could perhaps be run by unemployed young people. The guidance shops should have fixed daily opening times and be able to the manned in turns by counsellors from guidance councils referred to above. In this way, the guidance integrated into the system will have good coherence with the services offered by the guidance shops, which would have to be available to all young people and adults. Youth guidance officers who have searching-out work among the weakest young people, in immigrant groupings etc. as their main task could be linked to the guidance shops
- the organisation by the education system of the guidance services covered timetabled collective further education and employment guidance at all levels and thus formed part of the curriculum in a continuous process
- all groups of counsellors in the education system were connected to a coordinating counsellor who was responsible for contact with the system

or systems from which the institution received persons seeking guidance and in addition had contact with all young people at least one year after they had left the institution

Several of these proposals might appear to break with Danish tradition, in which guidance does not take place in separate agencies away from the environments the young people move in daily. It is evident, however, that the lack of visibility and the lack of provision for those who do not belong to a system can be remedied in this way, particularly if the guidance shops can function within the municipal area of responsibility. The searching-out work and the physical location of the guidance shops in a well-known and acceptable environment will obviously be particularly essential for the shops to be effective.

4.3.2. Guidance methods

Young people have pointed to the need for the guidance methods to be developed in the direction of a targeted effort for the individual and the involvement of the labour market to which they must adapt. Collective and individual guidance could activate the young people and stimulate their self-responsibility through

- more frequent involvement of guest teachers and in particular visits to firms, not just in vocationally oriented courses but also in courses preparing for university study and in higher education
- expansion of work experience schemes in the leaving classes of basic schooling and the general youth education courses
- encouragement of sabbatical years, e.g. abroad, which could provide merits for admission to higher education
- learning and training in establishing objectives and taking decisions in all training and job-creation schemes
- systematic work on individual plans of action, particularly in the education system
- systematic discussions on induction and leaving with all young people in education and training courses, for the youngest with the involvement of parents
- methodic follow-up of drop-outs
- adaptation of the guidance methods to the sets of values of different

youth cultures, e.g. through the development of the counsellors' ability to conduct qualitative interviews

Various development experiments have been started up within several of these areas which, however, have a tendency to be implemented very slowly. There are nevertheless few central initiatives for disseminating the results of experiments and incentives for using the results in guidance services.

4.3.3. Content of guidance

According to Danish guidance legislation and the guidelines for the individual area of guidance, great emphasis is put on the individual's choice of education, training and employment opportunities without taking account of the individual's personal qualifications and capabilities. The objectives of guidance have been developed in close connection with the practical work the counsellors carry out, and the needs the young people have for finding the correct training and employment. Training and vocational practice at basic school, for example, is one of the areas in which substantial local work is done so that the content of guidance becomes as relevant to young people as possible.

It has, however, become apparent from several evaluations that the following areas in particular should be given greater attention:

- involvement of parents' practice of bringing up their children particularly in the first few years of school, perhaps as an offer of distinct parental training in connection with the local schools or guidance shops
- strengthening of young people's self-esteem and personal development. Systematic self-confidence training through projects emphasising enjoyment and success, not just in basic school but also in youth education, could perhaps better equip young Danes, who are made independent very early on, also to withstand adversity in the personal and education and work-related areas. In some other countries (e.g. the USA), such training is often included in the curricula for youth education
- involvement of the problem of drop-outs and changes of course not only

in relation to dropping-out and changing course in the education system but also from a long-term point of view, where job-changing and development of qualifications - with or without unemployment - is part of the working life of most adults

In addition, the content of guidance will be governed to a great extent by the actual educational and employment barriers the young people encounter. Changes in these barriers, as mentioned earlier, lie outside the area of responsibility of guidance. However, the counsellors are the first to register these barriers and their influence on the living conditions of young people. It ought therefore to be part of the rights and duties of guidance to report back systematically to political, central and decentralised decision-makers on changes that are necessary. A feedback duty of this kind could cause conflicts for the individual counsellor, and there should therefore be real safeguarding of the ethical rights of counsellors, both in relation to being frank, honest and trustworthy in their objective and neutral guidance for the individual seeking guidance and in relation to being able to take responsibility in terms of attitude on behalf of young people in relation to the labour-market policy and education policy systems.

4.3.4. Training of guidance staff

By far the majority of guidance staff in Denmark operate with a background in counsellor training. In both the education system and labour-market guidance, teacher training often precedes practically oriented, sector-based guidance staff training of varying length and content. However, more and more people take part in municipal activation schemes and unemployment insurance fund guidance functions without having received actual guidance staff training. It is thus quite clear that for some counsellors there is a lag in training within quite basic guidance skills. There is also discussion in Denmark of whether higher guidance staff training should be introduced, which could recruit guidance staff from all sectors (Jørgensen, 1992[63]).

It is obvious that many counsellors - including among the better-trained ones - could benefit from

- enhanced understanding of different youth cultures, youth and adult psychology and the influence of different ways of life on young people's norms and attitudes to work, education, leisure and family
- self-confidence training techniques
- qualitative interviewing technique, which takes as its basis the individual's whole personality and basis of values
- continuous updating of changes in legislation which affect young people's employment and education and training opportunities, not just in the counsellor's own system but also in the adjacent systems
- planning methods and searching-out techniques

In addition, it will without doubt benefit the guidance of young people if the individual young person's occupational identity can be strengthened by visibility, political favour and also through education and training. It is particularly the case in the education system that the identity of guidance staff is often subordinated to their identity as teachers. Both here and in other sectors, the strengthening of the occupational awareness of the guidance profession could to a large extent take place through initial and continuing training working on attitudes.

4.3.5. Guidance resources

Young people's most notable comment on deficiencies in guidance services is on the lack of commitment and time of guidance staff. This criticism is also expressed from time to time by the counsellors themselves - and not just the "burnt-out" ones!

It is quite natural that with the massive expansion in guidance tasks over the last five to seven years in both the labour-market sector and the area of education without a corresponding boost in resources, many counsellors feel severe pressure and a lack of recognition for their work and function. A high level of stress is a serious problem and often causes a drop in commitment for the individual counsellor. Working conditions, more visibility and respect for the guidance function, but primarily more time and better training are only created through significant increase in resources.

The proposals mentioned here for expanding guidance schemes (searching-out

work, guidance shops, systematic induction and leaving discussions, renewal of methods and content and major training activity etc.) obviously require far more resources. They are, however, necessary if one wishes to reduce the consumption of resources which is the inevitable consequence of young people being locked into the social assistance system, young people's change of course and opting-out in the education system and the expenditure on social and psychological treatment services for young people who have become marginalised in relation to work, education, family and the social network.

4.3.6. Internationalisation of guidance in Denmark

The preparation of young Danes for the Single Market and closer international ties and cooperation structures is taking place to increasing extent, in both labour-market and education services. The preparatory activities assume many forms (Plant, 1993[2]) and are directed towards both those who are expected to spend time abroad for study purposes and those whose education, training and work in the national environment shows the signs of a more closely bound European and international labour market. Young Danes are among the best equipped in the EC with regard to language skills, experience of other countries and knowledge of Europe (CEC, 1991,[27]). A large proportion of the preparatory activities are in the form of specific teaching, but guidance increasingly plays a significant role in providing information on education, training and employment conditions and social and cultural conditions abroad.

Many counsellors are thus involved in activities such as the specially arranged "Euro classes" (particularly in the last year of basic school and the general upper-secondary youth education courses), group-based training and work experience periods e.g. under the PETRA and LINGUA programmes and the mobility bursaries under the ERASMUS programme. There is also increasing pressure in labour-market schemes on EURO Counsellor functions from persons seeking work in other European countries. These experience-based activities, where the young people actually live in and experience foreign cultures, are extremely suitable activities from the point of view of guidance - not simply because the young person's intercultural competence is increased but also because the process of maturing and

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national awareness are strengthened. Virtually all areas of guidance are experiencing increasing demand for opportunities to try out the international perspective for oneself for a shorter or longer period of time. However, in individual guidance in particular it can prove difficult to fulfil this aspect of the duty of guidance.

There has been a tradition for many years in Denmark for study and working trips to other Nordic countries and Britain, the USA, Germany and France. With the new EC support programmes in the 1980s and 1990s, improved opportunities have been created particularly in the education sector for sending young people out in connection with training activities, but by far the majority of the services provided for example in the area of youth education take the form of team-based services integrated into teaching. As has become apparent from the young people's visions of the future, there is only a small group of young Danes whose aims are residence and a longer stay abroad, but many young Danes wish - precisely in connection with transitions from one area of education to another or from (completed or non-completed) education to the labour market - to spend a "maturation period" abroad: in work camps, unskilled work, as au pairs, a period of leave of absence etc. In addition, there is a rising number of young people who after a stay integrated into their teaching want more individually organised study and working trips which can provide them with further qualifications - including for work in Denmark.

There is an increasing need for activities and grants to support wishes of a more individual nature, partly in the form of support for individual persons and partly in the form of initial and continuing training for guidance staff who lack specific and basic knowledge on opportunities for work and education and living conditions in the other European countries. A large number of training courses have been developed and held in recent years for guidance staff, particularly in basic school and youth education, at the levels of both initial and continuing training, and the guidance strand of the PETRA programme has greatly supported these efforts to Europeanise guidance. There is, however, among both guidance staff and young people, an unfulfilled need for support for organising and for responding to individual wishes for stays abroad in connection with the education and training of young people.

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CEDEFOP Annex

Target groups analysed in the twelve Member States

B	1)	Young people in Charleroi and Wallonian Brabant
	2)	Young people in Brussels
DK	1)	Locked-in, unemployed young people
	2)	Young people dropping out or changing course in the education system
D		Girls and young women when choosing an occupation
GR	1)	Young people who leave school without completing compulsory education
	2)	Young women with no skills training
E	1)	Young women in the autonomous community of Madrid whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes
	2)	Young people of both sexes affected by industrial reconversion on the left bank of the Bilbao estuary
F	1)	Young people in initial training
	2)	Young job seekers
IRL		Rural disadvantaged youth Case study 1: North Mayo Case study 2: North-West Connemara
I		Low skilled young people
L	1)	Young people in the 9th class of upper secondary technical education
	2)	Young people with supplementary education in the last year of compulsory schooling
NL		Young drifters
P	1)	Young people in their 9th school year
	2)	Young people who have completed their 9th school year and are attending vocational training schools
	3)	Young people with or without school leaving certificate attending alternative training courses
UK	1)	Young people in full-time employment
	2)	Homeless young people

CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Community
Young people in Denmark and their need for guidance
Inger Maaløe
Haandværkerhøjskolen, Haslev

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Following a brief overview of the career guidance systems in their countries, the authors of the reports describe a number of target groups of young people under 28 years of age, their economic, social and cultural backgrounds and the problems posed by the transition from school to working life.

A total of 21 target groups from the whole spectrum are examined, ranging from young people with favourable conditions for transition to the most disadvantaged.

A comparison is made between the need for career guidance, the demand coming from these groups and the current offer. The conclusions drawn in the summary report (deficit analyses) provide indications for designing future action programmes at EU level.

Particular attention is paid to mobility and the readiness of young people in this age group (PETRA II) throughout the EU Member States.

National report

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